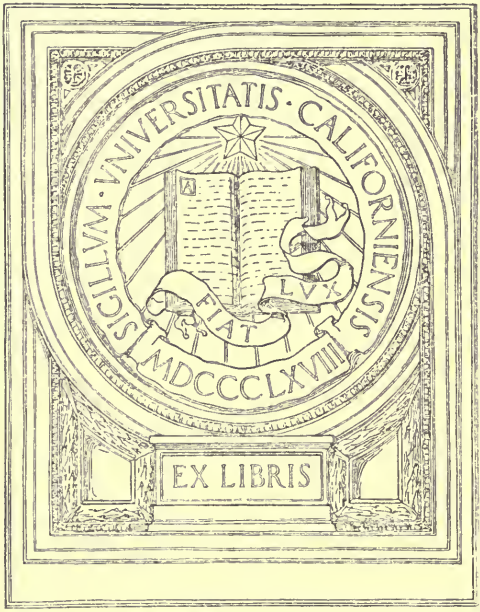
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AN
ANSWER
TO A
PAMPHLET,
ENTITLED
Pietas Oxonienſis,
OR
A FULL and IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT of the Expulſion of Six Students from St. *Edmund-Hall, Oxford.*
IN A
LETTER to the AUTHOR.

By THOMAS NOWELL, D. D.
PRINCIPAL of *St. Mary Hall*, and PUBLIC ORATOR of the Univerſity of OXFORD.

Beloved, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits, whether they be of God; becauſe many falſe Prophets are gone out into the world.

9082 6

OXFORD,
At the CLARENDON-PRESS. MDCCLXVIII.
Sold by *Daniel Prince.* And by *John Rivington* in *St. Paul's Church-yard, London.*

Imprimatur.

N. WETHERELL, Vice-Can.

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SIR,

THE act of diſcipline exerciſed upon ſix members of St. *Edmund-Hall* by the Vice-Chancellor, in conſequence of a ſolemn appeal made to him, as Viſitor of that Hall, however commendable in itſelf, and pleaſing to the true friends of learning and religion, yet could not fail to draw upon him, and his aſſeſſors, the indignation and reſentment of a ſet of men, who are enemies to both. Their views of filling the church with their votaries have by this ſeaſonable interpoſition been diſappointed; and the plan, which they have for ſome time been labouring to accompliſh, is at preſent diſconcerted at leaſt, if not entirely defeated. The rage of their diſappointment has vented itſelf in the common News-papers in foul invectives, and railing accuſations; which, as they carry with them their own confutation, are beſt treated with neglect, and paſſed over in ſilence.

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THE firſt who undertook to patronize their cauſe by a formal defence was the Rev. Mr. *Whitefield*; and certainly it was very proper that He ſhould be their advocate, who may be juſtly reputed the leader of their ſect; that He ſhould be their champion, under whoſe banner they are enliſted. I confeſs it gave me ſenſible pleaſure to ſee him ſtep forward in their vindication, as it ſtrongly marks the complexion and characters of theſe young men, diſcovers the principles by which they are actuated, and muſt convince the ſober part of mankind of the propriety and expedience of that cenſure, which they have incurred.

WITH this obſervation I leave his performance to the admiration of thoſe, whoſe applauſe it courts, whoſe ſentiments it flatters, and for whoſe judgment and taſte it is calculated. Neither ſhould I have thought myſelf obliged to pay any regard to what you have advanced either in favour of them, or to the prejudice of the Vice-Chancellor and his aſſeſſors, had you brought only a general charge againſt them, and been contented to complain of the ſeverity, or even iniquity of a ſentence, by which you may fancy the Church will be deprived of ſo many godly teachers, and yourſelf perhaps of the fruit of your labours.

BUT ſince you have thought proper to fix a particular charge of [a] diſſimulation and prevarication

[a] P. 8. on

on the Vice-Chancellor; of [a] partiality, impertinence, and want of integrity, on me; as well as the general one of cruelty, oppreſſion, and injuſtice, on all; ſilence may now be interpreted into a confeſſion of guilt: a regard therefore to our private characters, thus openly attacked, and perſonally vilified, requires that a charge ſo injurious to our reputation ſhould be as publicly refuted. Tho' this may effectually be done by barely ſtating the facts alleged againſt us, placing them in their true light, and clearing them from the artful miſrepreſentation by which You have diſguiſed them; yet for the ſatisfaction of the public, who have been greatly abuſed, and impoſed upon by your "full and impartial account," I chuſe to enter more largely into the ſubject, and to attend you thro' the whole progreſs of your work; from a fair examination of which the world will be able to judge "[b] how far theſe ſix members have, or have not, deſerved the puniſhment inflicted upon them;" and whether in the defence of their cauſe you have been guided by that "[c] Spirit of wiſdom, truth, love, and candor," by which alone you profeſs to be actuated. And if I enter into a diſcuſſion of the doctrinal points, it is with a view to bring back to the profeſſion of the true faith thoſe deluded perſons, who are now carried away with every wind of vain doctrine by the ſleight of men, and cunning craftineſs whereby they lie in wait to deceive.

a P. 64. 85. b Dedic. vi. c P. 2.

To begin with your dedication. — Had your book been written in defence of the eſtabliſhed rules and ordinances of the church of *England*, or in ſupport of the laws and diſcipline of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, you might with the greateſt propriety and confidence have dedicated it to the Protection and Patronage of the Chancellor; whoſe illuſtrious character, diſtinguiſhed abilities, and zealous attachment to the true intereſts of both, reflect the higheſt honour on himſelf, and theſe ancient ſeats of learning and religion, over which he preſides. —— But to ſolicit his patronage and protection, while you are undermining his authority, and expoſing to ridicule and contempt the venerable body over which he preſides; to claim the ſanction of his name, in order to fix a mark of infamy on thoſe, who have acted by his commiſſion, and with his approbation —— What is this, but to tread in the ſteps of the old puritans, who moſt dutifully addreſſed the King, and made the moſt ſolemn profeſſions of loyalty and obedience to his perſon and government, while they were meditating the deſtruction of both? Nor is it to be wondered at that you ſhould imitate the conduct of men, whoſe principles you have adopted, and whoſe tenets you ſo ſtrenuouſly maintain.

After this very extraordinary addreſs to the Chancellor, you proceed to inform his Lordſhip,

" [a] that

"[a] that however the late ſentence may have the appearance of an Univerſity-Act, yet it is the higheſt injuſtice to that ancient and reſpectable ſeminary of true piety and learning to look upon it in this light." The Chancellor was before too well acquainted with the nature and circumſtances of the whole proceeding to want this information: Nor is there any danger that "[b] it may paſs for ſuch in hiſtory, when children's children ſhall read the dire account," unleſs they are miſled by your repreſentation of it. For it was never pretended to be an Univerſity-Act; to conſtitute it ſuch, it muſt have had the ſanction of convocation, to which this complaint was not, nor indeed could with any propriety be ſubmitted. The depoſitions of Mr. *Higſon* were made before the Vice-Chancellor as Viſitor of *Edmund-Hall*, and he pronounced the ſentence by his viſitatorial authority, in which capacity alone he acted by the advice of the Heads of Houſes, and with the aſſiſtance of three of them, to whom was afterwards added the then ſenior Proctor. That I happened to be one of that number was not the effect of my own inclination, or the Vice-Chancellor's appointment, but merely in compliance with the requeſt of Dr. *Dixon*, the Principal of St. *Edmund-Hall*; for whom I then had, and ſtill retain, the ſincereſt regard; and who, I am perſuaded, when he deſired me to appear on that occaſion, never meant that my friendſhip for him

a Dedic. P. v. b Ibid.

ſhould warp my judgment, or influence my determination: and on the other hand I ſolemnly declare that no motives but thoſe of truth and juſtice; no affection, but for the welfare of the Church and Univerſity, directed my opinion, and determined my ſentiments. Nor do I apprehend that any "[a] great and eminent men in the Univerſity have teſtified their diſapprobation of what was then done;" but on the contrary have reaſon to believe that had all the Heads of Houſes, and every man of eminence in the Univerſity been preſent, they would have confirmed the ſentence by their unanimous voice. I farther declare that in a converſation with the Principal ſometime before the viſitation, He aſſured me that, if any of the young men accuſed appeared to be improper members of his ſociety, tho' he gave them all a good character, he ſhould readily acquieſce in their removal. Had he not given me this aſſurance, I ſhould certainly have declined an invidious office, in which friendſhip and duty could not be united, but muſt one of them be ſacrificed to the other.

WHAT I have here ſaid of myſelf, may with equal truth be applied to the Provoſt of *Queen*'s, who alſo became one of the aſſeſſors by the deſire of Dr. *Dixon*, in conſequence of a long intimacy and friendſhip which had ſubſiſted between them; and who, as Patron of *Edmund-Hall*, was himſelf inte-

[a] Dedic. v.

reſted

reſted in the honour and reputation of it, and could not therefore be ſuppoſed to be deſirous of bringing any of its members into diſgrace, or fixing any ſtigma or opprobrium on them, but what they ſhould appear upon examination to deſerve.

To theſe the Vice-Chancellor thought fit to add the Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti College*, his ſenior Pro-Vice-Chancellor, and Lady *Margaret*'s Profeſſor of Divinity, and one who had always lived in the greateſt friendſhip and intimacy with Dr. *Dixon*. The Preſident was ſenſible this might be an invidious office, and would willingly have declined it: but being preſſed by the Vice-Chancellor to give him his aſſiſtance, he thought he could not with decency refuſe it. He had no connections, nor acquaintance, with Mr. *Higſon*, but entered on this Office with ſtrong inclinations to favour the Principal, as far as truth and juſtice would permit.

LET me add that, from ſome circumſtances which happened at a previous meeting in the Principal's lodgings, the Vice-Chancellor and his aſſeſſors had conceived rather an unfavourable opinion of Mr. *Higſon*'s cauſe, which nothing but the force of evidence produced at the examination could have altered.

I CANNOT diſmiſs this point without commending the candor of the Vice-Chancellor, who permitted the Principal himſelf to nominate two out of the three aſſeſſors, who were at firſt appointed to aſſiſt him;

him; the fourth was, as I before obſerved, added afterwards at the requeſt of Mr. *Higſon*, who had ungenerouſly expreſſed ſome apprehenſions of partiality in the other aſſeſſors to the cauſe of the Principal.

You conclude this dedication with declaring that "you have been particularly careful not to aſſert any thing upon hear-ſay evidence, but have taken much pains to trace up every circumſtance and fact you have alleged to the fountain-head." The truth or falſhood of this declaration will beſt appear from an examination of your "full and impartial account" &c, to which I now haſten.

YOU preface this account with profeſſions of the higheſt veneration for the doctrine and diſcipline "[a] of the eſtabliſhed Church, into whoſe communion you were in your infancy baptized, and whoſe cauſe, [b] together with that of violated truth, trampled laws, and injured innocence, you now mean to defend." When you made theſe profeſſions you would have done well to have conſidered the nature and importance of them. Your veneration for the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of *England*, had it been real, would not have permitted you to advance tenets ſo contrary to the one, and ſubverſive of the other, or to defend thoſe who have been convicted of acting

a P. 1. b P. 2.

in

in contradiction to both — You would not have violated that truth, for which you pretend to be an advocate; or have trampled on thoſe laws, you are by the moſt ſolemn obligations bound to obſerve. — You would not have injured that innocence in others, which you falſely attribute to thoſe, whoſe guilt became notorious by their own confeſſion and the cleareſt evidence.

"[a] As to the ſix members expelled from *Edmund-Hall*," you ſay, "I had very little acquaintance with any of them, and ſome of them were totally unknown to me till after the ſentence was paſſed, ſo that I am in leſs danger of partiality on that account." I beg, Sir, that you would recollect whether ſome of theſe young men had not attended the meetings of a perſon with whom you are intimately connected? were not his diſciples? Whether they did not all of them aſſemble at his chambers ſoon after their expulſion? —which probably was the fountain-head from whence you derived your intelligence, and where the plan of your defence was concerted. Whether therefore from all theſe conſiderations their cauſe may not in ſome meaſure be deemed your own? and whether there was not conſequently ſome danger of partiality on that account? Not to mention the undue influence you lie under from a blind attachment to your ſect, which diſcovers itſelf in every page of your book.

[a] P. 2.

You

You next invoke the graces of "[a] wiſdom, truth, love, and candor", which you ſeem to introduce here only to take your leave of them; for ſcarce any footſteps of either of them are to be found in any ſubſequent part of your work.

What [b] paſſed between Mr. *Higſon* and the Principal, before he had made his complaint to the Vice-Chancellor; what may be Mr. *Higſon*'s [c] natural diſpoſition; what diſorders of body or mind he may have laboured under; or what differences may have ſubſiſted between the Principal and him, are ſecrets which I have no right to pry into, as they no way relate to the preſent queſtion. And I think your repreſentation of ſome of theſe particulars is equally impertinent and uncharitable. Are you acquainted with Mr. *Higſon*? do you know him to be of "a proud revengeful diſpoſition"? or have you given this character of him upon hearſay evidence? The charge of inſanity is ſtill more cruel, and your feigned pity the greateſt inſult.

Nor am I at all concerned to enquire whether Mr. *Higſon* acted of himſelf; or was made, what you term him, "[d] the tool or cat's-paw of others to perpetrate what, through ſhame or fear, they durſt not undertake themſelves"; tho' I am inclined from his own declaration upon oath to believe the former; and that he was induced to it

a P. 2. b Ibid. c P. 3. d P. 4.

from

from a ſenſe of the diſgrace brought upon that ſociety by the admiſſion of perſons totally unfit to become members of the Univerſity.

THE affection of a Tutor for his pupils naturally prejudices him in their favour, and will prevail on him rather to conceal than expoſe their failings and imperfections, where he can do it conſiſtently with the principles of duty and conſcience—While a regard to his own intereſt, as well as theirs, will not eaſily ſuffer him to ſacrifice both either to his own private reſentment, or the malevolent ſuggeſtions of others; much leſs to become without the greateſt neceſſity their public accuſer. But whatever were his motives, I am convinced that neither the Vice-Chancellor, nor his aſſeſſors were in the leaſt degree influenced by them, or by any other conſideration than that of truth, and the honour and welfare of the Univerſity. They therefore heartily deſpiſe the inſinuation of their being [a] led and influenced by a mad-man to paſs, what you call, [b] the moſt cruel and ignominious ſentence which can poſſibly be inflicted by the Univerſity; into the merits of which we come now to enquire.

BUT before you proceed to the particular charges, you loudly complain of the moſt unprecedented, illegal, and arbitrary proceedings — viz. — "[c] that all the witneſſes againſt the parties accuſed were

a P. 4. b P. 68. c P. 5.

"examined

examined without being put to their oath, except one, a very worthy conſcientious man, who was juſtly ſuppoſed to be their friend; that not only whatever theſe witneſſes advanced from their own perſonal knowledge, but likewiſe every idle report they had picked up by hear-ſay was admitted as genuine and charged upon theſe young men; who were even compelled to turn their own accuſers, or elſe be condemned for contumacious behaviour". I ſhall conſider theſe ſeveral articles of accuſation, which, I confeſs, appear very formidable, and give an anſwer to each of them diſtinctly.

It is true the witneſſes were examined without being put to their oath, nor was it thought neceſſary that the evidence ſhould be taken upon oath. The Vice-Chancellor acted not in this caſe in a judicial capacity, as if the proceedings had been in his court, but in a viſitatorial one, (a diſtinction which I am again obliged to remind you of) and therefore did not require ſtrictly legal proof, but only the teſtimony of credible witneſſes. This is the common method of proceeding in all enquiries made into the conduct of perſons, who, for any crime laid to their charge, are cited or convened before their reſpective ſocieties; where upon ſuch proof, as the Head and Fellows deem ſufficient, they inflict a puniſhment according to the nature of the offence, without the formality of a judicial proceſs; and this even

to

to expulſion; of which, notwithſtanding what you aſſert in page 17. with a malicious deſign to expoſe the Univerſity as the common ſink of drunkenneſs, rioting, gaming, and every other enormity, I could give you many inſtances; and one in particular for irreligious and blaſphemous tenets; to the infliction of which I myſelf was chiefly inſtrumental. Had the parties accuſed objected to the evidence thus taken, it might then have been proper that it ſhould be given upon oath; but the truth is, they confeſſed every thing material that was alleged againſt them, and conſequently there was no occaſion for this confirmation of it. Mr. *Greaves* was indeed put to his oath at the deſire of Mr. *Higſon*, who apprehended he would not give his teſtimony unleſs he became thus obliged to do it. Had the other party made the ſame requeſt, it would undoubtedly have been granted; but conſcious that it would have been of no ſervice to them on their trial, they choſe to reſerve this circumſtance as matter of future complaint to the world, and a pretence for crying out perſecution, ſtar-chamber, &c. &c.

WHETHER the Vice-Chancellor admitted every idle report that had been picked up by hear-ſay; or whether theſe young men were obliged to turn their own accuſers, or elſe be condemned for contumacious behaviour, will beſt appear from the minutes of the examination, which I began to take for my own private ſatisfaction, the regiſtrar being

being preſent to act in that capacity *ex officio*; who, obſerving that I was very punctual in noting every circumſtance, requeſted me to continue my obſervations; in conſequnce of which I, as you call it, "[a] officiated as ſecretary" — With what fidelity I officiated, the minutes themſelves will evince; but I beg leave to inform you, that they were examined article by article by the Vice-Chancellor and all the aſſeſſors, before he proceeded to ſentence; and were unanimouſly aſſented to, as faithfully recording every material circumſtance of the examination. As they will be inſerted in their proper place, I ſhall forbear to make any reflections on theſe, and the many other falſe and injurious inſinuations, with which your pamphlet abounds, till I come to that part of the proceedings; when the world will be able to judge whether "[b] both law and juſtice, as well as religion and conſcience, were put out of the queſtion in this tranſaction."

By what method Mr. *Higſon* [c] procured the evidence he produced, which is your next complaint, was by no means material to the Vice-Chancellor, who was only concerned to be informed of the truth. Yet, as if foreſeeing what miſrepreſentations would be given of his conduct, he was cautious even in this point, and did not admit the evidence of the clergyman, whoſe character you load with ſo much infamy, till what was

a P. 64. b P. 6. c Ibid.

advanced

advanced in his letter concerning Mr. *Jones* had been confirmed by Mr. ——— a gentleman of *Chriſt Church*, who was preſent at the examination, bore teſtimony to the fair reputation of that clergyman, and declared that he had received from his own mouth every circumſtance mentioned in the letter.

You likewiſe [a] complain that a copy of the articles was refuſed the unhappy ſufferers after they were expelled; and in your [b] note upon this place you repreſent the Vice-Chancellor as acting a very inconſiſtent, not to ſay a baſe, part, diſapproving in private what he had done in public; laying the odium of his conduct on the other Heads of Houſes; "and by a ſoothing ſpeech to the young men in private hoping to ſhake off a little dirt from himſelf" — or rather throwing a great deal both on himſelf and his aſſeſſors. That there was no injuſtice in refuſing a copy of the articles is evident from the common practiſe of the courts of law on like occaſions, of which we have a very recent inſtance in the caſe of Mr. *W*——s: — that a copy was refuſed, was the reſult of the Vice-Chancellor's own opinion and determination, ſeconded by that of the other aſſeſſors; for my own part, I thought it quite a matter of indifference; but he foreſaw what uſe would be made of it, and therefore prudently reſerved it, till your miſrepreſentations had made it neceſſary to be pub-

a P. 7. b P. 8.

liſhed

liſhed in his vindication. In the [a] concluſion indeed of your performance by way of ſoftening matters, and ſoothing him, who equally deſpiſes your cenſure and your praiſe, you qualify theſe expreſſions, by ſaying that he only intimated as much; which in my opinion is reflecting ſtill greater diſhonour upon him; making him mean enough to be deſirous that Mr. *Grove* and Mr. *Middleton* ſhould think he meant to inſinuate, what he dared not openly avow to them. The truth is, the Vice-Chancellor, as every man of humanity naturally would, expreſſed to thoſe gentlemen his concern for being obliged to paſs ſo ſevere a ſentence on them, not thereby intimating that he thought they did not juſtly deſerve the puniſhment, but quite the contrary, lamenting that their miſconduct had compelled him againſt his inclination to exerciſe ſo diſagreeable an act of diſcipline. The murtherer, when condemned by his judge, who generally tempers his ſentence with expreſſions of pity and compaſſion, may with equal reaſon infer from thoſe expreſſions, that he did not deſerve ſo ſevere a puniſhment. The thanks given to Mr. *Higſon* by the Vice-Chancellor were in the name, and with the approbation of all the aſſeſſors, who conſidered him as ſacrificing his own intereſt to the welfare and reputation of the Univerſity, and therefore entitled to this mark of their approbation.

[a] Pag. 85.

I MUST

I MUST beg leave to add, by way of anſwer to the laſt part of your note, that the Vice-Chancellor did not inflict this puniſhment "for the ſake of obliging any perſons whatever;" nor was there any danger that "the pious harmleſs youths would be thereby reduced to the very want of bread," ſince moſt of them had been brought up to employments more ſuitable to their capacities, and ſtation in life, whereby they might get an honeſt livelihood; but which they had deſerted in order to intrude themſelves into an office, for which they were utterly unqualified. It was kindneſs therefore, and not cruelty, to ſend them back to their own proper buſineſs; not that, were the conſequences of their amotion even ſuch as you repreſent them, they would be chargeable on the Vice-Chancellor, but on themſelves; not on him, who was obliged *ex officio* to inflict the puniſhment; but on them, who had juſtly incurred it.

WE come now to the articles of accuſation, which were exhibited to the Vice-Chancellor by Mr. *Higſon* in the form of depoſitions, of which the following is an exact copy.

BEFORE the reverend and worſhipful DAVID DURELL, Doctor of Divinity, Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, Viſitor of St. *Edmund-Hall* in the ſaid Univerſity of *Oxford*, JOHN HIGSON Maſter of Arts, Vice-Principal and Tutor of the ſaid Hall, appointed and admitted as ſuch, by THOMAS SHAW Doctor in Divinity, Principal of the ſaid Hall for the time being, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty one, and approved, and confirmed by the reverend and worſhipful JOHN BROWN Doctor in Divinity, Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford* for the time being, as the ſtatutes in that caſe made and provided direct, begs leave to propound and offer ſome articles of accuſation againſt the following perſons, ſcholars of the ſaid Hall, BENJAMIN KAY, JAMES MATTHEWS, THOMAS JONES, THOMAS GROVE, ERASMUS MIDDLETON, BENJAMIN BLATCH, and JOSEPH SHIPMAN, and other Matters relative thereto.

1*ſt*, That the aforeſaid JAMES MATTHEWS, THOMAS JONES, and JOSEPH SHIPMAN were bred to trades, and that the three laſt mentioned perſons, as alſo ERASMUS MIDDLETON and BENJAMIN BLATCH were, at the reſpective time of Entrance in the ſaid Hall, and at preſent are, deſtitute of ſuch a knowledge in the learned languages

guages as is neceſſary for performing the uſual exerciſes of the ſaid Hall and of the Univerſity.

2*dly*, That the aforeſaid BENJAMIN KAY, JAMES MATTHEWS, THOMAS JONES, THOMAS GROVE, ERASMUS MIDDLETON, and JOSEPH SHIPMAN are enemies to the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of *England*, which appeareth either by their preaching or expounding in, or frequenting, illicit conventicles, and by ſeveral other actions, and expreſſions, contrary to the ſtatutes of the Univerſity and the laws of this realm.

3*dly*, That the aforeſaid ERASMUS MIDDLETON is moreover an enemy to the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of *England*, as appears by his officiating as a miniſter in holy orders, altho' a layman, in the pariſh Church of *Chevely*, or in one of the Chapels of Eaſe belonging and appertaining unto the ſaid Church of *Chevely* in the county of *Berks*, and dioceſe of *Saliſbury*.

4*thly*, The aforeſaid JAMES MATTHEWS, ERASMUS MIDDLETON, and BENJAMIN BLATCH, have behaved indecently towards the ſaid *Higſon* Vice-Principal and Tutor, either by neglecting to attend his lectures, or miſbehaving themſelves, when at them; or by going out of the Univerſity without his the ſaid *Higſon*'s leave, contrary to the diſcipline and good order of the ſaid Hall.

5thly, That the above premiſes are true, public, and notorious, and what the ſaid parties named jointly and ſeverally know in their conſciences to be true.

6thly, That by the ſtatutes and uſage of the Univerſity the ſaid Hall is notoriouſly ſubject to the viſitation of the Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford* for the time being.

7thly, And laſtly; That the ſaid *Higſon* from a regard to the honour and welfare of the Univerſity in general, and the ſaid Hall in particular, and actuated by every principle religious and civil, makes this application to you the ſaid Vice-Chancellor, as Viſitor; and not confining himſelf to any ſuperfluous proof, but only ſo far as he ſhall prove in the premiſes, that he may obtain in his prayer, he prays that theſe perſons, againſt whom theſe articles are exhibited, may be treated and dealt with according to their demerits, and as the ſtatutes of the Hall, and the Univerſity require, as far as it ſhall ſeem good to your wiſdom and juſtice, humbly imploring the aid of your worſhip's office.

Oxon. St. *Edmund-Hall*, *February* the twenty-ninth, 1768.

J. Higson.

Sworn before me on the day and year above-written

D. Durell, Vice-Chancellor.

THE Vice-Chancellor in conſequence of theſe depoſitions, having previouſly conſulted the Heads of Houſes, and notified their opinion to the Principal, who expreſſed his approbation of it, cauſed a citation to be fixed on the chapel-door of *Edmund-Hall*, requiring the parties accuſed to appear on a day and hour therein ſpecified, to anſwer the ſeveral charges brought againſt them. Soon after the citation was put up, Mr. *Grove*, one of the perſons accuſed, took his name out of the Hall-books, in order to eſcape the cenſure which, he had reaſon to apprehend, might be inflicted on him; but upon better advice he returned, and was re-admitted by the Principal, the Vice Chancellor not being conſulted in either of theſe points: however no notice was taken of this unwarrantable behaviour of Mr. *Grove* at the examination, tho' the Vice-Chancellor might with great propriety have animadverted upon it.

WHEN the day arrived, he and his aſſeſſors came to the Principal's lodgings, and from thence proceeded to the common Hall, intending to examine into the grounds of the complaint in a private manner: when they came there, they found a great number of gownſmen of all degrees aſſembled to hear the examination: however the Vice-Chancellor thought this unexpected audience would be no obſtruction to the proceedings, and

conſequently that there was no reaſon on that account for deferring them; but rather the reverſe; as by this means the whole Univerſity would become acquainted with the nature of the accuſation, the grounds of the proof, and, I will add, the impartiality of the Viſitor. After the articles of accuſation were read, Mr. *Higſon* proceeded to his proofs in ſupport of them; the ſubſtance of which I took down with what exactneſs I could in the following minutes. I ſhall make no apology for any inaccuracy which may appear either in the form or ſtile of theſe memorandums, which were taken without any connection, in the order in which they now ſtand, merely for my own private ſatisfaction, without the leaſt thought of their being made public. Let me only obſerve that, while I was employed in taking theſe minutes, I did not ſuppoſe that the Vice-Chancellor and the other aſſeſſors were inattentive to what was going forward, or that the whole was to reſt on what I had minuted down: but on the contrary had reaſon to believe that whatever circumſtance might eſcape my notice would be ſupplied by the recollection of the other gentlemen; which was the real caſe.

MINUTES of the accuſation brought againſt JAMES MATTHEWS, THOMAS JONES, JOSEPH SHIPMAN, ERASMUS MIDDLETON, BENJAMIN KAY, THOMAS GROVE, and BENJAMIN BLATCH of *Edmund-Hall*; their examination, &c.

JAMES MATTHEWS. Accuſed that he was brought up to the trade of a weaver — that he had kept a tap-houſe — confeſſed — Accuſed that he is totally ignorant of the Greek and Latin languages, which appeared by his declining all examination — ſaid that he had been under the tuition of two clergymen for five years — viz. Mr. *Davies* and *Newton*; though it did not appear that he had during that time made any proficiency in learning — was about thirty years old — accuſed of being a reputed methodiſt by the evidence of Mr. *Atkins* formerly of *Queen's-College* — that he was aſſiſtant to Mr. *Davies* a reputed methodiſt, that he was inſtructed by Mr. *Fletcher* a reputed methodiſt,—that he maintained the neceſſity of the ſenſible impulſe of the holy Spirit — that he entered himſelf of *Edmund-Hall*, with a deſign to get into holy Orders, for which he had offered himſelf a candidate, tho' he ſtill continues to be wholly illiterate, and incapable of doing the exerciſes of the Hall — proved —That he had frequented illicit conventicles held in a private houſe in *Oxford* — con-

feſſed. He produced two teſtimonials, one vouched by the Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, the other by the Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

THOMAS JONES. Accuſed that he had been brought up to the trade of a barber, which he had followed very lately—confeſſed—Had made a very ſmall proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages—was two years ſtanding, and ſtill incapable of performing the ſtatutable exerciſes of the Hall—that he had been at the meetings at Mrs *Durbridge*'s—that he had expounded the ſcriptures to a mixed congregation at *Wheaton-Aſton*, tho' not in holy Orders, and prayed extempore. All this he confeſſed. He urged in his defence that he had aſked his Tutor whether he thought it wrong for him to pray or inſtruct in a private family, and that his Tutor anſwered, he did not, which he ſaid, was the reaſon of his continuing to do it.

JOSEPH SHIPMAN. Accuſed that he had been brought up to the trade of a draper, and that he was totally illiterate; which appeared on his examination—accuſed that he had preached or expounded to a mixt aſſembly of people, tho' not in Orders, and prayed extempore—all which he confeſſed.

ERASMUS MIDDLETON—confeſſes to have done duty in a chapel of eaſe belonging to *Cheveley*, not

not being in holy Orders, three years before he entered of the Univerſity, but not ſince. That he was diſcarded by his father for being connected with the methodiſts — That he had been refuſed Orders by the Biſhop of *Hereford*, that he had written a letter to the Biſhop acknowledging his Fault, and recanting his errors—That he was now in hopes of being reconciled to his father — That he had been maintained by his friends, but did not explain who thoſe friends were — Accuſed that he was deficient in learning — that he was attached to Mr. *Haweis*, who had boaſted that they ſhould be able to get him into Orders. That he holds that faith without works is the ſole condition of ſalvation — that the immediate impulſe of the ſpirit is to be waited for — that he denies all neceſſity of works — that he had taken frequent occaſion to perplex and vex his Tutor — Part of this charge, eſpecially concerning his tenets, he denied, tho' proved by the evidence of two gentlemen of the Hall.

BENJAMIN KAY. Confeſſes that he has been preſent at the meetings held in the houſe of Mrs *Durbridge* where he had heard extempore prayers frequently offered up by one *Hewett* a ſtaymaker, that ſometimes Mrs *Durbridge* has read to them — Accuſed that he endeavoured to perſuade a young man of *Magdalen-College*, who was ſent into the country for having been tainted with calviniſtical and methodiſtical principles, to leave his

his father — that he talked of their meeting with great oppoſition, meaning from the Univerſity — of this there was not ſufficient evidence — that he holds, that the ſpirit of God works irreſiſtibly — that once a child of God always a a child of God — that he holds abſolute election — that he had endeavoured to inſtil the ſame principles into others, and exhorted them to continue ſtedfaſtly in them againſt all oppoſition — Some of theſe tenets he ſeem'd to deny, tho' it was fully proved by the evidence of Mr. *Wellin*, commoner of the Hall.

THOMAS GROVE — Accuſed that he had preached to a mixt aſſembly of people called methodiſts, not being in Orders, which he confeſſed, and likewiſe that he prayed extempore — that he could not fall down upon his knees, and worſhip God in the form of the church of *England*, though he thought it a good form; proved by the evidence of Mr. *Bromhead*.

BENJAMIN BLATCH. A gentleman, who has not had any ſchool-learning, is not certain whether he ſhall purſue any profeſſion — and therefore diſmiſſed.

THIS, Sir, is the ſubſtance of what appeared to me material during the courſe of the examination, put down indeed in a haſty manner, as the time would permit, but with fidelity and without aggravation:

vation: and, tho' I had omitted ſome circumſtances which occurred to the other aſſeſſors, yet I am conſcious of having placed nothing to the account of the parties accuſed, but what was urged and proved againſt them, though the proof itſelf be not always mentioned; taking notice at the ſame time of whatever was urged by any of them, either in their defence, or extenuation of their crime. How little I have deſerved the ſevere cenſure contained in your note p. 64. will appear from my minutes of Mr. *Middleton*'s examination; from which the world will be able to judge whether you, or I, have been guilty of putting down a falſe accuſation, as true; and whether the [a] Spirit of truth, love, and candor influenced your heart, and guided your pen, when you wrote that malicious ſlander.

When we met at the Vice-Chancellor's lodgings to review all that had paſſed at the examination, every circumſtance recorded in the above minutes was thoroughly canvaſſed: ſome particulars not mentioned in them recollected; and the whole of the accuſation, proof, and defence, duly weighed, and maturely conſidered: when we came to an unanimous determination; which, together with the reaſons whereon it was founded, is fully expreſſed in the ſentence pronounced by the Vice-Chancellor, of which the following is an exact copy.

[a] P. 2.

Oxford

Oxford, March 11th, 1768.

I. It having appeared to me D. Durell, Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and undoubted Viſitor of St. *Edmund-Hall* within the ſaid Univerſity, upon due information and examination, that *James Matthews* of the ſaid Hall, had been originally brought up to the trade of a weaver, and afterwards followed the low occupation of keeping a tap-houſe; that, afterwards, having connected himſelf with known methodiſts, he did, without any the leaſt proficiency in ſchool knowledge, enter himſelf of St. *Edmund-Hall* aforeſaid, with a deſign to get into holy Orders; and that he ſtill continues to be wholly illiterate, incapable of doing the ſtatutable exerciſes of the Hall, and conſequently more incapable of being qualified for holy Orders, for which he had lately offered himſelf a candidate. Moreover it having appeared by his own confeſſion, that he had frequented illicit conventicles held in a private houſe in the city of *Oxford*. —— Therefore I D. Durell, by virtue of my viſitatorial power, and with the advice and opinion of the Reverend Thomas Randolph, D. D. Preſident of *C. C. C.* and *Margaret* Profeſſor of Divinity in this Univerſity, of the Reverend Thomas Fothergill D. D. Provoſt of *Queen's-College*, of the Reverend Thomas Nowell D. D. Principal of St. *Mary-Hall*, and Public Orator, and of the Reverend Francis Atterbury M. A. Senior Proctor

tor of this Univerſity, my ſeveral aſſeſſors regularly appointed on this occaſion, do expel the ſaid *James Matthews* from the ſaid Hall, and do hereby pronounce him expelled.

II. It having alſo appeared to me that *Thomas Jones* of St. *Edmund-Hall* had been brought up to the trade of a barber, which occupation he had followed very lately; that he had made but a ſmall proficiency in learning, and was incapable of performing the ſtatutable exerciſes of the ſaid Hall: and, moreover, it having appeared by his own confeſſion, that he had frequented illicit conventicles in a private houſe in this town, and that he had himſelf held an aſſembly for public worſhip at *Wheat-Aſton*; in which he himſelf, though not in holy Orders, had publicly expounded the holy Scriptures to a mixt congregation, and offered up extempore prayers. —— Therefore I D. Durell, by virtue of my viſitatorial power, and with the advice and opinion of each and every one of my aſſeſſors, the reverend perſons aforenamed, do expel the ſaid *Thomas Jones*, from the ſaid Hall; and hereby pronounce him alſo expelled.

III. It having alſo appeared to me that *Joſeph Shipman* of St. *Edmund-Hall* aforeſaid had been a draper; was very illiterate, and incapable of performing the ſtatutable exerciſes of the ſaid Hall. Moreover

Moreover, it having appeared by his own confeſſion, that he had expounded publicly, though not in holy Orders, the holy Scriptures to a mixt congregation, and offered up extempore prayers. —— Therefore I D. DURELL, by virtue of my viſitatorial power, and with the advice and opinion of each and every one of my aſſeſſors, the reverend perſons aforenamed, do expel the ſaid *Joſeph Shipman* from the ſaid Hall; and hereby pronounce him alſo expelled.

IV. IT having alſo appeared to me, that *Eraſmus Middleton* of St. *Edmund-Hall* aforeſaid, by his own confeſſion, had formerly officiated in the chapel of eaſe belonging to the pariſh of *Chevely* in the county of *Berks*, not being in holy Orders; that he had been rejected from holy Orders by the Biſhop of *Hereford* for the ſaid offence; that he was diſcarded by his father for being connected with the people called *Methodiſts*; and that he ſtill lies under his father's diſpleaſure for the ſame. Moreover, it having appeared by credible witneſſes, that he is ſtill connected with the ſaid people, and profeſſes their doctrines. Viz. that "Faith without works is the ſole condition of ſalvation; that there is no neceſſity of works — that the immediate impulſe of the Spirit is to be waited for." —— Therefore I D. DURELL, by virtue of my viſitatorial power, and with the advice and opinion of each and every one of my aſſeſſors, the reverend perſons afore-mentioned,

tioned, do expel the ſaid *Eraſmus Middleton* from the ſaid Hall, and hereby pronounce him alſo expelled.

V. It having alſo appeared to me that *Benjamin Kay* of the ſaid Hall, by his own confeſſion, had frequented illicit conventicles in a private houſe in this town; where he had heard extempore prayers frequently offered up by one *Hewett*, a ſtaymaker. Moreover, it having been proved by ſufficient evidence that he held methodiſtical principles; viz. "the doctrine of abſolute election; that the Spirit of God works irreſiſtibly; that once a child of God always a child of God:" that he had endeavoured to inſtil the ſame principles into others, and exhorted them to continue ſtedfaſtly in them againſt all oppoſition. —— Therefore I D. Durell, by virtue of my viſitatorial power, and with the advice and opinion of each and every one of my aſſeſſors, the reverend perſons before-mentioned, do expel the ſaid *Benjamin Kay* from the ſaid Hall, and hereby pronounce him alſo expelled.

VI. It having alſo appeared to me that *Thomas Grove* of St. *Edmund-Hall* aforeſaid, though not in holy Orders, had, by his own confeſſion, lately preached to an aſſembly of people called *Methodiſts* in a barn, and had offered up extempore prayers in that congregation. —— Therefore I D. Durell, by virtue of my viſitatorial power, and

and with the advice and opinion of each and every one of my aſſeſſors, the reverend perſons before-named, do expel the ſaid *Thomas Grove* from the ſaid Hall, and hereby pronounce him alſo expelled.

SUCH, Sir, was the ſentence, which you repreſent to be the moſt cruel and unjuſt that ever was paſſed; and ſuch the reaſons on which it was founded. I ſhall not ſtay to make any general obſervations on it, but haſten to anſwer the particular objections you have urged againſt it, article by article.

BUT before I proceed, I cannot help obſerving that under a pretence of [a] greater method and perſpicuity you have inverted the order of the charge, even as it ſtands in your own articles of accuſation. The order in which it ſtood on the examination, and which is moſt natural, was this — 1ſt, the accuſation of ſome of them being brought up to trade; which would have had no weight, had it not been connected with the ſecond — viz. that they were totally illiterate, and incapable of performing the ſtatutable exerciſes of the Univerſity, and their Hall — then followed the third — viz. that they had frequented illicit conventicles, in which they had preached, and prayed extempore; and that one

a P. 11.

of

of them had officiated as a miniſter in holy Orders, though a layman; — the 4th was, that they held and maintained tenets contrary to the doctrine of the church of *England*; however, that I may not be obliged to turn over your book backwards and forwards to reduce it to regularity and method, I ſhall take it as it ſtands, and attend you page by page, as nearly as I can, through the whole labyrinth of your work.

[a] THE firſt charge you conſider is that of attending illicit conventicles. To aſcertain what is a conventicle you quote *Jacob*'s law dictionary, but with great partiality, and want of fidelity; you adopt only what may beſt ſerve your turn, leaving out what makes againſt you, though immediately connected with what you quote: thus, you drop the definition of a conventicle, which is "a private aſſembly for the exerciſe of religion," but take the words immediately following it; and here you ſtop; paying no regard to Mr. *Jacob*'s quotation from 22 *Car.* II. which declares what conventicles are illegal. Nor are you more faithful in quoting that act of parliament; you give us the preamble, but conceal the part, which alone relates to the point in queſtion, where it is enacted that, if any perſon above the age of ſixteen ſhall be preſent at any aſſembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exerciſe of religion in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the

[a] P. 12.

church of *England*, at which conventicle there ſhall be five perſons or more aſſembled together over and beſides thoſe of the ſame houſhold, if it be a houſe where there is a family inhabiting; or if it be in a houſe, or field, or place where there is no family inhabiting, then, when any five perſons or more are ſo aſſembled, every one ſhall be ſubject to the penalty of five ſhillings for the firſt offence, and ten ſhillings for the ſecond.

SECT. 3. Every perſon, who ſhall take upon him to preach or teach in any ſuch meeting, aſſembly, or conventicle, ſhall forfeit twenty pounds for the firſt offence, and forty pounds for the ſecond.

SECT. 4. If any perſon ſhall ſuffer any ſuch conventicle, aſſembly, or unlawful meeting, as aforeſaid, to be held in his houſe, out-houſe, barn, yard, or back-ſide, ſhall forfeit twenty pounds.

THIS act, as the author of the remarks upon Mr. *Whitefield*'s letter obſerves, is indeed in ſome degree altered by the toleration-act; by which ſome conventicles are permitted under certain reſtrictions; but all other conventicles, which come not under the deſcription given of ſuch as are thereby permitted, are ſtill continued to be forbidden by the 22 Car. II.

THUS ſect. 19. No congregation, or aſſembly for religious worſhip ſhall be permitted or allowed by this act, until ſuch place of meeting ſhall be certified

tified to the Biſhop of the dioceſe, or Arch-deacon of the arch-deaconry, or to the Juſtices of the peace at their general quarter-ſeſſions for the county, city, or place, in which ſuch meetings ſhall be held, and regiſtered in the ſaid Biſhop's or Arch-deacon's court, or recorded at the ſaid general quarter-ſeſſions of the peace. Hence all conventicles, aſſemblies, or meetings, as deſcribed in 22 Car. II. chap. 1. and not regiſtered or recorded according the toleration-act, are illicit and prohibited. The meetings therefore which theſe gentlemen attended were certainly conventicles, being "private aſſemblies for the exerciſe of religion;" and they were illicit conventicles, "there being more than five perſons aſſembled there, beſides thoſe of the ſame houſhold." Nor does the law require proof of any dangerous practices carried on at ſuch meetings; it provides a ſpeedy remedy againſt the dangers, which may poſſibly, and will probably, ariſe from ſuch meetings; and forbids them, becauſe ſectaries have, or may, at ſuch meetings, contrive inſurrections.

Not being acquainted with the [a] *Kentiſh* ſtory to which you appeal as deciſive in this point, I cannot contradict you with regard to the fact itſelf, but have great reaſon to ſuppoſe it did not turn on that hinge, on which you reſt it. The conventicle might be illicit, and yet the Juſtice of peace become liable to puniſhment for having taken unwarrantable and illegal meaſures to ſuppreſs it; he might therefore

[a] P. 14.

be glad to compound matters, and make them up in the manner you relate; a caſe which, I apprehend, frequently happens. And as to the [a] religious ſocieties in Queen *Anne*'s time; if they were compoſed of Lords ſpiritual and temporal, &c. I will take upon me to pronounce that they did not permit laymen, barbers, weavers, ſtaymakers, &c. to pray extempore, or to preach, and expound the ſcriptures to them — But that members of the church of *England* may be, and actually have been, cenſured for frequenting illicit conventicles is very evident from Queen *Elizabeth*'s circular letter to the Biſhops throughout *England*; in which your meetings are exactly deſcribed, and the pernicious tendency of them fully ſet forth — The following is a copy of it, taken from *Stripe*'s life of Archbiſhop *Grindal* — Appendix P. 85

THE Queen to the Biſhops throughout *England* for the ſuppreſſing the exerciſe called *propheſying*, &c.

RIGHT Reverend Father in GOD, we greet you well. We hear to our great grief, that in ſundry parts of our realm there are no ſmall number of perſons preſuming to be teachers and preachers of the church (though neither lawfully thereunto called, nor yet fit for the ſame) which, contrary to our laws eſtabliſhed for the public divine ſervice of

[a] P. 15.

Almighty

Almighty God, and the adminiſtration of his holy ſacraments within this church of *England*, do daily deviſe, imagine, propound and put in execution ſundry new rites and forms in the church, as well by their unordinate preaching, reading, and miniſtring the ſacraments, as by procuring unlawfully of aſſemblies, and great number of our people out of their ordinary pariſhes, and from places far diſtant (and that alſo ſome of our ſubjects of good calling, tho' therein not well adviſed) to be hearers of their diſputations, and new deviſed opinions upon points of divinity, far unmeet for vulgar people: which manner of innovation, they in ſome places term *propheſyings*, and in ſome other places *exerciſes*. By which manner of aſſemblies great numbers of our people, eſpecially the vulgar ſort (meet to be otherwiſe occupied, with honeſt labour, for their living) are brought to idleneſs, and ſeduced; and in manner ſchiſmatically divided among themſelves into variety of dangerous opinions, not only in towns and pariſhes, but even in ſome families, and manifeſtly thereby encouraged to the violation of our laws, and to the breach of common order, and finally to the offence of all our quiet ſubjects, that deſire to live, and ſerve God according to the uniform orders eſtabliſhed in the church: whereof the ſequel cannot but be dangerous to be ſuffered.

WHEREFORE conſidering it ſhould be the duty of the Biſhops, being the principal ordinary officers

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in the church of God, as you are one, to ſee theſe diſorders againſt the honour of God, and quietneſs of the church reformed; and that we ſee that by the encreaſe of theſe, through ſufferance, great danger may enſue, even to the decay of chriſtian faith, whereof we are by God appointed the defender; beſide the other great inconveniences, to the Diſturbance of our peaceable government: we therefore according to the authority we have, do charge and command you, as the biſhop of that dioceſe, with all manner of diligence, to take order through your dioceſe, as well in places exempt as otherwiſe, that no manner of public and divine ſervice, nor other form of adminiſtration of the holy ſacraments, nor any other rites and ceremonies, be in any ſort uſed in the church, but directly according to the orders eſtabliſhed by our laws: neither that any manner of perſon be ſuffered within your dioceſe to preach, teach, read, or exerciſe any function in the church, but ſuch as ſhall be lawfully approved and licenſed, as perſons able for their knowledge, and conformable to the miniſtry in the rights and ceremonies of this church of *England*. And where there ſhall not be ſufficient, able perſons for learning in any cures, to preach and inſtruct your cures as were requiſite, there ſhall you limit the curates to read the public homilies, according to the injunctions heretofore by us given for like caſes.

AND furthermore, conſidering for the great abuſes that have been in ſundry places of our realm, by reaſon of the aforeſaid aſſemblies called *exerciſes*; and for that the ſame are not, nor have not, been appointed nor warranted by us, or by our laws, we will and ſtraitly charge you, that you do cauſe the ſame forthwith to ceaſe, and not to be uſed: but if any ſhall attempt, or continue, or renew the ſame, we will you not only to commit them unto priſon, as maintainers of diſorders, but alſo to adviſe us, or our council, of the names and qualities of them, and of their maintainers and abetters: that thereupon, for better example, their puniſhment may be made more ſharp for their reformation.

AND in theſe things we charge you to be careful and vigilant, as by your negligence, if we ſhould hear of any perſon attempting to offend in the premiſes without their correction, or information to us, we be not forced to make ſome example in reforming of you according to your deſerts.

Given under our ſignet at our manor of *Greenwich*, the 7th day of *May* 1577, in the XIXth year of our reign.

You next appeal to the canons of the church; or rather having put your own conſtruction on one of them, you infer in general that "from their [a] authority likewiſe it is moſt clear that there is no prohibition laid on any member of the church of *England* for meeting together for religious purpoſes, (I quote your own words though they are not very grammatical) provided ſuch meeting tend not to the impeaching or depraving the doctrine of the church of *England*, the book of common prayer, the public peace, nor any part of the government and diſcipline eſtabliſhed in the church." Suppoſing this to be the caſe, I believe the meetings which theſe men frequented, and in which ſome of them officiated, will juſtly come under the above deſcription, and manifeſtly tended to the impeaching and depraving the doctrine of the church of *England*, the book of common prayer, and the government and diſcipline of the church.

But is this the only canon of the church which relates to the point in queſtion? does not the 71ſt canon forbid even miniſters to preach, or adminiſter the holy communion, in any private houſe, except it be in times of neceſſity; upon pain of ſuſpenſion for the firſt offence, and excommunication for the ſecond? Laymen therefore are *a fortiori* prohibited from preſuming to do either. Nor [b] are all miniſters permitted even to expound any ſcripture

a P. 13. b 49. can.

or

or matter of doctrine, in their own cure, or elſewhere; but ſuch only as have been examined and approved by the Biſhop of the dioceſe, or licenſed. Will you now ſay that theſe meetings in private houſes, in which not only miniſters, but illiterate laymen take upon them to preach, and expound the ſcriptures, are not prohibited by, or that the perſons guilty of ſuch preſumption do not offend againſt, the canons of the church? And if they offend againſt the canons of the church, they certainly incur the penalty of the ſtatutes of the Univerſity; which forbid all perſons to frequent illicit conventicles under pain of expulſion; and call all ſuch conventicles illicit, in which men meet either publicly or privately in a way not allowed by the ſtatutes of the realm, or the canons of the church, or the rules of the Univerſity; they are prohibited by the two former, and conſequently muſt be a violation of the latter. Beſides, theſe young men, had they been capable of conſtruing the Univerſity ſtatutes, which they had ſworn to obſerve, muſt have known that all ſcholars are forbidden to frequent the houſes of townſmen, and conſequently that meetings held at ſuch houſes are not allowed by the rules of the Univerſity. And ſurely in this place there can be no occaſion or pretence for ſuch religious meetings: there are prayers here in every chapel twice a day; there are ſermons at the Univerſity church twice every Sunday, and once every holiday; beſides other occaſional ſermons. If this were not ſufficient, thoſe pious gentlemen might have

have joined together in prayer within their own halls, or colleges. But to hold ſuch meetings in private houſes in the town was directly contrary to the diſcipline and rules of the Univerſity, to the canons of the church, and the ſtatutes of the realm; I may add, to the articles likewiſe; which, at their admiſſion into the Univerſity, they ſubſcribed to. The 23d article expreſsly declares, that it is not lawful for any man to take upon himſelf the office of preaching, before he is lawfully called.—" [a] But was it the deſign of the legiſlature to prohibit all members of the church from joining together in prayer for the welfare of the church, unleſs it were within the conſecrated walls?" — was this all that was done? was there not expounding? were there not extempore prayers offered up? and that by perſons unauthorized to do either. [b] " But if upon any occaſion there happened to be half a dozen gueſts, or ſtrangers preſent at the ſtated family-worſhip in a houſe" — was then the preſence of theſe gueſts only accidental, or once upon an occaſion? I am well acquainted with the nature of theſe meetings in general, and the numbers which, deſerting their own pariſh church, flock together from all parts of the neighbourhood to attend them; I have frequently been an eye witneſs of the vain ſelf-ſufficiency of theſe gifted teachers, and of the ignorant zeal, and ſtupid admiration of their hearers: I cannot therefore be impoſed upon by your repreſentation of them. Yet ſuppoſing

a P. 14. b Ibid.

there

there were only five thus preſent, it is contrary to the expreſs words of the act of Parliament cited by you; and which, one would have thought, muſt have ſtared you in the face, as they follow immediately after thoſe you have quoted. Strange it is indeed that undergraduates in the Univerſity, greatly deficient in learning and abilities, without regular orders, or miſſion, ſhould think themſelves qualified, or authorized, to expound the ſcriptures in a mixt congregation, and to offer up extempore prayers for, and in the name of, ſuch congregation: and ſtill more ſtrange is it that a ſilly woman, or illiterate ſtaymaker, ſhould preſume to do this; and that theſe gentlemen ſhould, by their attendance at thoſe meetings, uphold and encourage ſuch preſumption. Nay, one of them was convicted of officiating, tho' not in orders, as a curate in a country pariſh church: [a] this indeed you allow to have been a "very high indiſcretion; though you muſt believe that his motive was good;" that is, you are reſolved to believe nothing bad of him, tho' ever ſo true, and every thing good, however falſe. But why muſt his motive be good? [b] "becauſe, ſay you, he could have no temporal intereſt in what he did" — that is more than I know, or you can be certain of — But might not his motive be pride, arrogance, ſelf-conceit, preſumption? and call you theſe motives good? you urge likewiſe that this [c] was before he was a member of the Univerſity, and that he had

a P. 23. b Ibid. c P. 24.

behaved

behaved ever ſince with the greateſt regularity. Had this daring impiety been known before his admiſſion, the Vice-Chancellor would not have permitted him to become a member of the Univerſity; as ſoon as it was known, it was a ſufficient reaſon to remove him. An indiſcretion is ſurely a very mild term for a high offence againſt the laws both of God and his country, the ſin of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Nor did it appear that he had behaved ever ſince with the greateſt regularity, but juſt the contrary.

THREE others were alſo convicted of preaching, or expounding, as they call it, in congregations in the country. I wonder how they could think themſelves called or qualified ſo to do, unleſs they had the gift of immediate and extraordinary inſpiration; and this you ſeem to think they had, as you compare their caſe with that of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. But if this were really the caſe, what buſineſs had they here? They had no occaſion to come to the Univerſity for inſtruction or degrees, or to apply for orders. They were miſpending their time; not ſtanding in need of any qualification, they could be ſuppoſed to acquire here — But this point will be more fully conſidered in its proper place. The other two confeſſed that they had frequented theſe meetings — All of them had therefore incurred the penalty of expulſion under this firſt charge.

You ſay in their defence, "[a] that they did abſtain from theſe meetings, as ſoon as ever they were told that they were contrary to the will of thoſe, who had the authority over them in the Univerſity, and that not one of them had been preſent at any ſuch meetings for ſome months before their expulſion; but all declared it was their determination not to attend them again"— But how does this declaration agree with their preſent behaviour? was it not a mere jeſuitical one, made only to ſerve their turn at that time? but not anſwering their purpoſe then, they have ever ſince totally diſregarded it, and acted in open violation of it. For (I aſſert it on very good authority) they are now, and have been for ſome time, preaching, and expounding, and holding theſe meetings up and down the country, to the reproach of their conduct, but to the full juſtification of the Vice-Chancellor's ſentence —— A ſentence which you call moſt cruel and ignominious; and tell us that "[b] only one example can be produced within theſe hundred years of ſo public an infliction of a like puniſhment" — I have already refuted this aſſertion; and could give you many inſtances of the like puniſhment, did I think it conſiſtent with charity to rip up private characters, and again expoſe thoſe, who have already ſuffered for, and, I hope, long ago repented of their crimes. But I muſt take the liberty to tell you that you have

a P. 16. b P. 17.

greatly

greatly misrepresented the fact you allude to. If you mean Mr. —— of *H—f—d* C—— it is notorious that he was expelled the University by a public act of convocation — If you allude to an affair which happened forty years ago at *A—d—n*, wherein some persons of *M—d—n C*—— were concerned; the persons guilty of that act of impiety, tho' not such as you represent it, were likewise expelled, and the sentence of their expulsion now stands recorded on the college register, expressed in terms of the greatest abhorrence. — But you relate nothing upon hearsay —

THE next charge against these persons, in the order in which you place it, was, that [a] three of them were bred to trades. You allow the charge; but plead that St. *Paul* was a tent-maker; that *David* was called from the sheepfold; that *Amos* was an herdsman, our Lord himself a carpenter, and his Apostles fishermen — What trifling is this? when you will shew that these men have the same divine mission, which the prophets and apostles had, and bring the same proof of it from the gift of miracles and prophecy, then we will allow them to do, as the prophets and apostles did. But [b] several worthy prelates were bred to trades: it may be so. Some persons have been sent to school, and, their parents not being able to maintain them at the University, have been afterwards put out to trades: but having imbibed a relish for

a P. 18. b P. 19.

learning

learning, and having in conſequence a diſlike for the buſineſs of trade, they have met with friends, who have ſupported them here. Others have been originally bred to trades, but diſcovering a genius for learning, they have been ſent to ſchool, and, after a proper education there, have entered themſelves in the Univerſity; and ſome of theſe perſons have become afterwards eminent in the learned profeſſions. But as you have had the confidence to ſhelter the illiberal education and low ignorance of theſe men under the ſanction of a very learned and venerable character, I beg leave to contradict your account of that eminent prelate's education upon the beſt authority, which is, his own. That dignitary, by whoſe death the church of *England* is deprived of her greateſt Ornament, and beſt ſupport, being juſtly offended at the liberty you have taken with him, drew up with his own hand the following account of the manner in which he was educated, before he became a member of the Univerſity: which he deſired might be here inſerted in anſwer to your miſrepreſentation of it.—His words are theſe, "Whereas it is aſſerted in a pamphlet entitled *Pietas Oxonienſis*, p. 19. that a very great dignitary in the church was educated in the profeſſion of a man-midwife among the diſſenters: the real fact is this, that the perſon ſuppoſed to be meant was educated firſt in a public grammar ſchool, then for five or ſix years in diſſenting Academies, then for two years purſued his ſtudies privately; that in the year 1716, and not

not before, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of phyſic, which he continued till near the middle of 1720, and not longer; that, during this time, among many other courſes of lectures, he attended (at *Paris* only) one in midwifery; but that he never profeſſed, nor practiſed, nor intended to practiſe that, or any other branch of ſurgery, nor ever acted as a phyſician, otherwiſe than occaſionally among the pooreſt of his Pariſhioners." This is the account that great prelate gives of himſelf. I think it neceſſary to add, that he was admitted a gentleman commoner of *Exeter* college in *April* 1721, being then twenty years old; and had the degree of Bachelor of Arts conferred on him in the act term following, in conſequence of the ſtudies he had purſued, and the progreſs he had made in literary accompliſhments. The letter, by which the Chancellor expreſſed his aſſent to that favour, contains a very remarkable circumſtance, which ought not to be omitted, and upon which the petition was founded. It is this, "that, contrary to his own inclinations, he was ſent by his guardians to the Univerſity of *Leyden*, where he proceeded regularly to the degree of Doctor of phyſic, as appeared by the printed exerciſe which he performed on that occaſion." His character from this time became too well known in the learned world to need any farther account of it here.

Nor are you more happy in the other inſtances, by which you would countenance the ignorance of theſe

theſe men. The great cardinal *Woolſey*, of whatever quality or occupation his father might have been, (though it appears by his will that he was a man of no mean circumſtances) was bred up from his infancy to learning, in which he made ſo rapid a progreſs, that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in this Univerſity when he was only 14 years of age; and was at that time diſtinguiſhed for his abilities in every branch of literature. Suppoſing then that his father was a butcher, will that juſtify your aſſertion that the ſon was bred up in a butcher's ſhop? unleſs you mean that every ſon muſt be of the ſame occupation as his father.

Bishop *Maddax* likewiſe was from a child bred up at a regular grammar ſchool: but having the misfortune to loſe his father, he fell into the hands of friends who were Diſſenters, and were therefore unwilling that he ſhould be ordained according to the rites of the Church of *England*; while he on the other hand was old enough to declare againſt taking Orders in their Church: They therefore put him to a paſtry-cook upon trial, but before he was bound apprentice, the maſter came to his relations, and told them that the boy was not fit for his trade, and was ſure he would never make any thing of it, that he was continually reading books of learning above his (the maſter's) comprehenſion, and therefore adviſed that they ſhould take him away, and ſend him back to ſchool to follow the bent of his inclination. This was accordingly

cordingly done, and from ſchool he was entered of *Queen*'s College. I need not inform you what figure he made in life.

You may depend upon the truth of the above relation; which is given by a very eminent Perſon, who received it from the biſhop's own mouth.

The late Proctor was educated on the foundation at *Weſtminſter*, and from thence elected a Student of *Chriſt Church:* after ſeveral year's reſidence in the Univerſity he ſerved his country for ſome ſhort time, not in the army, but in a county militia.—To what purpoſe then have you introduced any of theſe inſtances? how different is the caſe of every one of them from that of the perſons removed from hence by the Vice-Chancellor? when they left their trades, they did not go to any regular ſchool, but were ſent to the houſe of ſome private clergyman, where they might poſſibly imbibe the principles of methodiſm, and a contempt for human knowledge, but appeared to have made no proficiency in the languages, or any part of learning. Nay, one of them, tho' totally illiterate, was aſſiſtant to one of thoſe clergymen; from whence we may fairly conclude what ſort of learning was cultivated under his tuition. Their being bred to trades therefore was not charged upon them as a crime, nor would it have been made any objection at all, if they had appeared to have made a proper proficiency in learning, but the

the contrary appeared moſt plainly. Which is the third charge you conſider.

You affect to laugh at this charge as full of abſurdity — "[a] if they were backward in their ſtudies, was not this the beſt reaſon in the world why they ſhould be ſuffered to purſue them? Would [b] you drive a man from the ſeat of learning and knowledge, becauſe he is yet deficient in the knowledge of the languages?" If this be juſt reaſoning, then the moſt ignorant perſons are the the moſt proper to become members of the Univerſity; then ought our Colleges and Halls to be filled with mechanics and plowmen. Surely ſome qualifications of ſchool learning are neceſſary in thoſe who have any reaſon to expect improvement here. The ſphere of the Univerſity, eſpecially in its preſent ſtate, is rather the ſciences than the firſt elements of learning. Can it be expected that perſons, whoſe early years have been engaged in the purſuit of ſuch employments, as ſuppoſe a total inattention to ſtudy, ſhould, when they arrive to the ſtate of manhood (which was the caſe of theſe men) be qualified for a learned profeſſion, or capable of receiving academical knowledge? Such knowledge, to borrow the ingenious metaphor which you have adopted from a news paper, was too ſtrong meat for ſuch weak ſtomachs. If a perſon can neither conſtrue the ſtatutes, which are his rule of action, nor perform the exerciſes re-

[a] P. 19. [b] P. 20.

quired

quired both in the Univerſity, and in every College and Hall, he is not likely to improve much here: Such an ignorant perſon is not fit to be admitted here, nor is it any injury to remove him from hence. And it is more eſpecially neceſſary ſo to do, if it ſhall appear that he entertains hopes by this means to thruſt himſelf into the miniſtry.

But "[a] can their tutor," ſay you, "deny that they had made conſiderable progreſs in their learning, ſince they entered at the Hall?" Yes, he can, and did deny it; this was part of his charge againſt them, and their examination ſhewed that they had made no ſuch progreſs. But you ſeem to think their [b] "literary abilities were not put to a proper trial." Their examination was very eaſy; they were only required to conſtrue the *Greek* teſtament, and the ſtatutes of the Univerſity; and could do neither. They were allowed all the time to recollect themſelves, and to conſider the paſſages propoſed to them, that they could deſire. If they "[c] were under much confuſion and diſcompoſure in ſuch a public place," why did they not deſire a more private examination? This the Vice-Chancellor and his Aſſeſſors would have readily conſented to, but none of them made any ſuch application. But they did not appear to be under the leaſt confuſion or diſcompoſure — they had been uſed to ſpeak before much larger aſſemblies, and it was obſerved that they did not want confidence

a P. 20. b Ibid. c Ibid.

on

on this occaſion. [a] "But there were very many perſons of the Hall, equally, if not more deficient." I hope not. There was only one perſon more accuſed; who, confeſſing his ignorance, declined all examination; but as he was repreſented to be a man of fortune, and declared that he was not deſigned for holy orders, the Vice-Chancellor did not think fit to remove him for this reaſon only, though he was ſuppoſed to be one of the [b] righteous over-much, as you expreſs it. If there were any others equally illiterate, they ought to have been particularly accuſed, and application made to the Viſitor for their removal: I am ſatisfied he would have been ready to hear and redreſs ſuch complaint. He was at that time examining into the articles of accuſation brought againſt particular members of that ſociety by Mr. *Higſon*, he could not therefore with propriety proceed to any other matter of grievance not alleged in thoſe articles; but the Principal, who deſired that others might he examined, was requeſted, if he had matter of complaint againſt any of his members to exhibit it, and the Vice-Chancellor would appoint a day for hearing it: but he declined the propoſal. Beſides, I apprehend, he might himſelf remove any members from his ſociety, whom he conceived to be a diſgrace to it; and if the [c] Tutor had introduced any ſuch illiterate pupils into the Hall, in which caſe I ſhould think him very culpable (tho' he could not have done this without the conſent of

a P. 20. b P. 21. c Ibid.

the Principal) it was in the Principal's option whether they ſhould continue there, and be permitted "juſt to keep their terms, and get into orders," to the diſgrace of the Church and the Univerſity.

But the truth is, you, if you are conſiſtent with your own principles, think no one diſqualified to become or continue a member of the Univerſity on account of [a] age, ignorance, or former occupation; you exclaim loudly againſt ſuch removals. The proceedings in this caſe have been called tyranny and perſecution; the Vice-Chancellor and his aſſeſſors have been compared to *Bonner* and the popiſh perſecutors. You call it "the moſt ſevere puniſhment an Univerſity can inflict; a cruel ignominious ſentence; turning them out to ſtarve; a puniſhment which may reduce them to the very want of bread, and caſt a laſting ſtigma upon their names and characters." Happy theſe gentlemen, to find ſo eloquent and zealous an advocate! But where after all was the great injury done them? they were deprived of neither liberty, property, nor life; they were of no foundation, had no freehold in the Univerſity, nor received one ſhilling profit from the Hall; but were miſpending both their money and their time. Nor had they any character to loſe; if henceforth they are known to be illiterate, that could only be a reproach to them while they aſſumed the character of gownſmen; but can be none, while they act in their

[a] P. 21.

own

own proper one of weaver, barber, or tapſter. The Vice-Chancellor had as much right and reaſon to remove them from the Univerſity, as a ſchool-maſter has to remove ſcholars from his ſchool, who are incapable of making any proficiency there. They were not qualified to improve in academical ſtudies, nor capable of performing the exerciſes of the Univerſity and the Hall. It was therefore no injury (I repeat it again) but rather a kindneſs to ſend them from a place, where they were miſ-employing their time, and abuſing the ill-placed kindneſs of their friends, who ſupported them here in idleneſs, that they might follow their reſpective trades elſewhere, and get their livelihood in an honeſt, and reputable manner. Mr. *J—s* makes a good perriwig; he need not ſtarve, he may get his bread by his proper profeſſion. Mr. *M—s* and Mr. *S—n* may maintain themſelves and ſerve their country better at the loom, or at the tap, or behind the counter, than they were likely to do in the pulpit — tractent fabrilia fabri. — The laſt gentleman, we were aſſured from his miſtreſs, bore a very good character, and behaved with diligence and fidelity in her ſervice, till he was ſeduced by the Methodiſts; when idleneſs ſucceeded to diligence, and negligence took the place of fidelity; let him return to her ſervice, and by a faithful diſcharge of his duty recover his loſt reputation.

If theſe gentlemen have by our ſentence been debarred from entering into the miniſtry, this is alſo

alſo no injury, but rather a kindneſs to them, as well as a ſervice done to the public. They are prevented from expoſing themſelves, and miſleading others. I beg leave to recommend to their ſerious peruſal the excellent ſermon of Biſhop *Bull*, concerning the great difficulty and danger of the prieſtly office. "How horrible (ſays that worthy prelate) is the confidence, or rather impudence of thoſe mechanics, that have leapt from the ſhop-board, or the plough, into the pulpit, and thus, per ſaltum, by a prodigious leap commenced teachers! what ſhall we ſay to theſe mountebanks in the Church, theſe empirics in theology? I can only ſay this, I can never ſufficiently admire either their boldneſs in adventuring to be teachers, or the childiſh folly and ſimplicity of thoſe that give themſelves up to be their diſciples. 'Tis a miracle that any ſuch perſon ſhould dare to preach, or, if he do, that any man in his right wits ſhould vouchſafe to hear him." — If Mr. *Higſon* has introduced [a] others of the ſame ſtamp, the above reflection will be equally worthy of their attention.

And here, ſir, it will be proper to introduce Mr. *Welling*, who, you tell us, had aſſerted, as appeared upon the trial, that "whoſoever believeth the miracles of our Saviour, or of *Moſes*, muſt be a knave or a fool; and is well known in the Hall by the name of the Infidel [b]." If this were his known

a P. 21. b P. 22,

character

character, why was he permitted to continue a member of a ſociety devoted to a religious education? why was he not expelled from it? — When this circumſtance was mentioned by way of recrimination, we applied to the Principal for the truth of it, and deſired that he might be formally proceeded againſt. The Principal ſo far from ſupporting the charge, declared that he had no objection to Mr. *Welling*'s character, nor had ever heard any ill of him. However the Vice-Chancellor and his aſſeſſors thought a charge of this nature, which they held in much greater deteſtation than you would repreſent them to do, ought to be thoroughly examined into; he therefore ordered the two gentlemen, to whoſe teſtimony Mr. *Kay* appealed in ſupport of it, viz. Mr. *Wrighte* and Mr. *Brown* to attend him. He took their depoſitions upon oath, and the whole of their evidence is contained in the following affidavits.

Oxford, } The information of WILLIAM WRIGHTE, gentleman commoner of St. *Edmund-Hall* in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, taken on oath before me, DAVID DURELL, Doctor in Divinity, Vice-Chancellor, and one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace in and for the ſaid Univerſity, this twelfth day of March, 1768;

WHO ſaith, that on laſt St. *John*'s day the baptiſt, (viz. the 24th of June, 1767,) he this informant was

was walking in *New College* gardens, and was there joined by *John Welling* and *Eraſmus Middleton*, commoners of *Edmund Hall* aforeſaid, when he the ſaid *Wrighte* perceiving the ſaid *Welling* to be concerned in liquor, took occaſion to expoſtulate with him thereon: a diſpute then aroſe between the ſaid *Welling* and *Middleton* concerning ſome points in religion, the particulars of which he this informant does not recollect, only that the miracles of *Moſes* were introduced in the diſpute; when the ſaid *Welling* addreſſing himſelf to the ſaid *Middleton*, uſed ſome ſuch expreſſion as the following, "What, fool, do you believe in the miracles of *Moſes?*" or words to that effect, upon which he the ſaid informant reproved him ſeverely, and threatened him much. That night, or the next day the ſaid *Welling* came to aſk the ſaid informant's pardon for his behaviour that day or the preceding day: upon which he the ſaid informant told him, that if he again behaved in the like manner, he would acquaint the Vice-Principal with it, and added, that if he had thought he had been in earneſt in regard to the expreſſion, which had ſo much offended him the day before or that day, he would break all connection with him, or to that effect.

THE ſaid informant further ſaith, that in ſeveral converſations he has had with the ſaid *Welling*, he has taken occaſion to examine into his real ſentiments in regard to the miracles of *Moſes*, and

and other points of revelation: when the ſaid *Welling* has declared, and particularly in a late converſation, his unfeigned aſſent to, and belief of divine revelation in general, and of the miracles wrought by *Moſes* in particular. And he the ſaid informant ſaith, that he has no ſort of reaſon to ſuſpect the veracity of the ſaid *Welling* in the ſaid declaration.

WILLIAM WRIGHTE.

Sworn before me on the day and year above-written

D. DURELL, Vice-Chancellor.

Oxford, } The information of WILLIAM BROWN, commoner, of St. *Edmund-Hall*, within the Univerſity of *Oxford*, taken on oath before me, DAVID DURELL, Doctor in Divinity, Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, and one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace in and for the ſaid Univerſity, this twelfth day of March, 1768;

WHO ſaith, that in ſeveral converſations he has had with *John Welling*, commoner of the ſaid Hall, on religious ſubjects, he has found that he the ſaid *Welling* has uſed many free expreſſions, which he does not now remember, but which argued a ſuſpicion of a diſbelief of divine revelation: but upon

upon a very particular enquiry, made at repeated times by the ſaid informant, into the ſaid *Welling*'s real opinion of the truth of all the divine revelations, he the ſaid *Welling* hath as often declared his unfeigned aſſent to all revealed truth contained in the holy ſcriptures.

THIS informant further ſaith, that he has no reaſon now to ſuſpect that the ſaid *Welling* diſſembled, when he ſolemnly declared his real belief of the truth of divine revelations; and does not ſuſpect his being in the leaſt diſaffected to the doctrines or diſcipline of the Church of *England*.

WILLIAM BROWN.

Sworn before me on the day and year above-written

D. DURELL, Vice-Chancellor.

THE Vice-Chancellor having taken theſe depoſitions, made enquiry after Mr. *Welling*; but was informed that he was gone out of town, and would not return till Eaſter term; he deſired directions to him, but the Principal knew not where to addreſs him. The Vice-Chancellor then proceeded to lay the above affidavits before the Heads of Houſes; who were of opinion that they did not contain

tain ſufficient matter for a public citation, but adviſed that the party accuſed ſhould, on his return to the Univerſity, be ſummoned before them to give an account of his principles, and make ſuch ſatisfaction as ſhould appear to them proper and ſufficient. Accordingly he waited on the Vice-Chancellor on the 15th of May, and ſhewed him a letter from Mr. *Higſon*, in anſwer to an application he had made for Teſtimonials for holy Orders: wherein Mr. *H.* declared that he had no objection to ſigning ſuch Teſtimonials, provided he was aſſured by the Vice-Chancellor that he had given ſatisfaction to the Univerſity in reſpect to the charge of infidelity, which had been brought againſt him. He proteſted that there was no real foundation for this charge, and was very deſirous to give all poſſible aſſurances of his innocence. The Vice-Chancellor told him that he muſt appear the day following before the Heads of Houſes. He attended accordingly; and being called in, was acquainted with the heinous nature of the crime laid to his charge, and underwent a very ſtrict examination with reſpect to his religious principles. He expreſſed great concern for having laid himſelf open to the ſuſpicion of infidelity, and declared before the Meeting the ſubſtance of what is contained in the affidavit here annexed; which was read by him publicly in the Convocation Houſe the next day, before the Members of Congregation there aſſembled, exactly as it is here printed, and not in latin, as you aſſert

to

in the note p. 23d. This is another inſtance of your aſſerting nothing upon hear-ſay evidence.

WHEREAS it hath been alleged upon oath before the Reverend the Vice-Chancellor, againſt me JOHN WELLING, that on the 24th of June, 1767, in converſation with Mr. *Wrighte* and Mr. *Middleton* of *Edmund-Hall*, in this Univerſity, I made uſe of certain expreſſions tending to diſparage the truth of revelation; and in particular the miracles of *Moſes:* I do hereby declare my unfeigned aſſent to, and belief of, divine revelation in general, and of the miracles wrought by *Moſes* in particular: And I do aver that I was intoxicated in liquor (for which very criminal exceſs I am moſt ſincerely ſorry) when I uttered thoſe expreſſions; and whereas by the uſe of thoſe expreſſions I have given but too juſt occaſion of ſcandal and offence to the Vice-Chancellor and Members of this Univerſity; I do hereby aſk pardon of them for the ſame; and I do further moſt ſolemnly proteſt, that however unguarded I may have been in the uſe of thoſe, or any expreſſions whatſoever concerning religion, they were not declarative of my real principles, in as much as thoſe principles are, and ever have been, and I truſt will ever continue to be, diametrically oppoſite to ſcepticiſm

ticiſm and infidelity, which from my heart I deteſt and abhor.

Witneſs my hand,

JOHN WELLING.

Sworn before me
the ninth day of
May, 1768.

D. DURELL, Vice-Chancellor.

WE whoſe names are underwritten, do certify that *John Welling* read the above declaration publickly in Congregation, this tenth day of May, 1768,

D. DURELL, Vice-Chancellor.
B. WHEELER, Senior Proctor.
E. WHITMORE, Junior Proctor.

LET me now aſk you what apology can you make to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houſes, whoſe characters you have aſperſed, by a baſe inſinuation that they prefer infidelity to methodiſm? what atonement to the Univerſity, which is greatly injured by your unjuſt and uncharitable cenſures? What anſwer to your own conſcience, which muſt reproach you with having endeavoured to vilify the governors of this venerable ſeat of learning and piety, thereby weakening the hands of diſcipline, and wounding even religion herſelf?

IN

In your note p. 79. you give us a particular hiſtory of the birth, life, and converſation of Mr. *Welling*. How you have been able to trace this poor beggar-boy from the *Foundling Hoſpital*, thro' the ſeveral dark windings and dirty channels thro' which he waded to the Univerſity; or how he ever got there by ſuch arts, is a myſtery to me. If your ſtory be a true one, he is certainly a very deteſtable character, and not worthy to be a member of the Univerſity. But to what purpoſe have you introduced it here? With what view have you raked into this filthy kennel? His admiſſion here under ſuch circumſtances can be no reflection on the Vice-Chancellor, who could not be ſuppoſed to be acquainted with them; it can be no reflection on his Tutor, in whoſe abſence he was entered; who was quite unacquainted with his family and connections, who, and whence he was, and particularly made this an article of complaint. Neither can it reflect on thoſe who ſigned his Teſtimonials for Orders, or on the Biſhop, who ORDAINED HIM TO A CURE OF SOULS, unleſs you can ſuppoſe that they were previouſly acquainted with this dark ſide of his character; which I am perſuaded was entirely concealed from them, till you hung it out to public view; whether in its proper colours or not, I leave himſelf to ſhew. This black ſtory, which however I have good reaſon to believe is miſrepreſented, will indeed ſuggeſt one caution to the Heads of Colleges and Halls, viz. not to admit any one a member of their ſociety, without enquiring

ring into his family, his education, and morals. The Vice-Chancellor does this, as far as he prudently can, at the matriculation of every perſon: who gives an account of his age, quality, his father's name, and place of abode; all which is regiſtered in the matriculation-book, and ſuppoſed to be well known to the Governor or Tutor of the ſociety into which he is entered.

I NOW proceed to the caſe of thoſe gentlemen, who [a] "were ſuffered to take their names out of the book of *Edmund-Hall*, and to enter at *Magdalen-Hall*; which you repreſent to be done in order to caſt a greater ſtigma and opprobrium on *Edmund-Hall*, and the worthy Principal of it; and this, after Mr. Vice-Chancellor had told Mr. *Grove*, and ſolemnly given his word to the Principal, that unleſs the expelled young men were received again into the Univerſity, none of the others ſhould have liberty to leave his Hall, and to enter elſewhere.—*Heu! priſca fides!*" Is it thus you defend the cauſe of violated truth, and injured innocence? Is this your love of candor? this your reverence for authority? ſuch an accuſation brought againſt the chief magiſtrate of the Univerſity ought at leaſt to be well ſupported, and urged with modeſty. But you were conſcious your cauſe required other arts than theſe; to apply your own quotation [b]

Non tali auxilio, nec defenſoribus iſtis
Tempus eget. ———

[a] P. 23. [b] P. 83.

Bold aſſertion muſt ſupply the place of proof, and vehement exclamation give to falſhood the air of truth; which however, upon the ſlighteſt touch will return to her proper ſhape, and appear in her own deformity. The real fact is this; Mr. *Grove*, after his expulſion, applied to the Vice-Chancellor to be re-admitted into ſome College or Hall, on condition of his making a recantation of his errors, and giving ſecurity to the Univerſity for his future good behaviour. The Vice-Chancellor referred him to the Chancellor, to whom he preſented a petition; which was again referred by the Chancellor to the Vice-Chancellor; who, to oblige Mr. *Grove*, fixed upon the firſt vacant hour in the next day after he received it, in order to deliberate with his aſſeſſors upon the ſubject of it. At the ſame time they took into their conſideration another petition, which had been preſented by three gentlemen of the ſame Hall to the Chancellor, but was alſo referred to the Vice-Chancellor's determination. In regard to Mr. *Grove*, they were unanimous in their opinion that he ought not to be received again into the Univerſity: but with reſpect to the other petitioners, it was judged expedient that perſuaſion ſhould be uſed to induce them to continue of the Hall, as the cauſe of their complaint had been removed by the late expulſion; and indeed alſo thro' motives of tenderneſs to the Principal, that by their continuance there that Houſe might recover its credit. But if the method here recommended ſhould prove ineffectual,

tual, they all agreed that the Vice-Chancellor would then be obliged to call upon the Principal (as the ſtatute directs) to ſhew cauſe why their petition ſhould not be granted.

Mr. *Grove* called upon the Vice-Chancellor that evening for an anſwer; when he was told the Vice-Chancellor and his aſſeſſors could not conſent to his being re-inſtated; and that the other gentlemen were not allowed for the preſent to leave the Hall. This was all that paſſed between them. The beginning of the week following the Principal of *Edmund-Hall* called upon the Vice-Chancellor to deſire him to recommend a Tutor for his Hall: at which time the Vice-Chancellor acquainted him with the ſubſtance of what had paſſed at the meeting on the Saturday preceding; expreſsly adding that, if the gentlemen who had petitioned for leave to remove to another ſociety, could not be prevailed on to continue of the Hall, he muſt expect to be called upon to give his reaſons againſt their departure.

This is the exact ſtate of the caſe: and if the Vice-Chancellor's bare word will not be admitted, he is ready to confirm it upon oath. He has ſince called upon the Principal, and, in my preſence, queſtioned him in relation to the charge brought againſt him on this head. The Principal's anſwer was, that he underſtood the determination of both the petitions had been final; and

and did not remember that any thing farther was ſaid on the ſubject: but abſolutely cleared the Vice-Chancellor of having made any promiſe, or having intimated a ſingle word of any condition, on which the ſuppoſed breach of promiſe is founded. You will now, I hope, do him the juſtice to retract what you have ſaid, and beg his pardon for the injury you have done him.

ANOTHER petition was ſome time after preſented to the Vice-Chancellor by ſix members of *Edmund-Hall*, deſiring his leave to quit it: This he laid before the Heads of Houſes at that meeting, in which an enquiry was made into Mr. *Welling*'s affair, and ſent for the Principal of the Hall to know what objection he had againſt granting it: but none being urged, at leaſt none that was thought ſatisfactory, and the Principal ſtill continuing to refuſe them leave, the Vice-Chancellor put the queſtion diſtinctly to all then preſent, who were not leſs than ſixteen, whether they would adviſe him to give the petitioners the proper inſtrument for that purpoſe; when all (the Principal excepted) readily concurred to recommend that meaſure; and if you are at all acquainted with the ſtatutes of the Univerſity, you muſt know it was not in the Vice-Chancellor's power to make the promiſe you charge with him.

WE come now to that article on which you ſeem to lay the greateſt ſtreſs, and diſplay all your eloquence

eloquence, ſhall I call it? or rather virulence. You not only aſſert that all "[a] the doctrines which theſe ſix ſtudents were expelled for maintaining are the very fundamental avowed doctrines of the Church of *England*; but call thoſe who hold the contrary opinions, [b] a peſtilent ſeditious ſect, dangerous heretics and ſchiſmatics: [c] Incendiaries in the church, who had impiouſly and hypocritically ſet their hands to doctrines, which in their hearts they never aſſented to: and call their opinions [d] the pride-ſoothing *Arminian* hereſy, doctrines of devils; and rank them with the blaſphemies of *Arius*, *Pelagius*, and *Socinus*; [e] you affirm them to be the known, avowed, received tenets of the Church of *Rome*, compared with which tranſubſtantiation is an harmleſs error."—Is this the language of one guided by a ſpirit of wiſdom, truth, love, and candor? Is it conſiſtent with chriſtian charity or decency? The points which you pronounce ſo confidently upon, are generally acknowledged to be abſtruſe and difficult points: and wiſe and good men have always differed about them. Leſs confidence therefore, and more charity would have better become you. Theſe points have been diſputed in almoſt all ages of the chriſtian church, both before, and ſince the council of [f] *Trent*; among the Papiſts, between the *Thomiſts* and the *Scotiſts*; the *Dominicans* and the *Franciſcans:*

a P. 29. b P. 33. c Ibid. d Ibid. e P. 73.

f See *F. Paul*'s Hiſt. of the Council of *Trent*, b. ii.

among the Proteſtants, from the firſt beginning of the reformation, between the Lutherans and the Calviniſts. What pretence then have you to call your own notions the principles of the reformation, and the contrary opinions the avowed tenets of the Church of *Rome?* You ought to have known, that the doctrines, againſt which you inveigh with ſo much bitterneſs, have been maintained by many of the brighteſt ornaments of our church, and the principal advocates againſt the errors of popery; ſuch as *Laud*, *Hammond*, *Bull*, *Tillotſon*, *Sharp*, *Stillingfleet*, and many others; and that our articles have been vindicated from the charge of Calviniſm by Bp *Bull*, Dr. *Waterland*, and ſeveral other religious and learned men. Suppoſing that they, and we, are miſtaken in the ſenſe we put upon our articles, yet ſurely, unleſs you can ſee our hearts, you cannot cenſure us for ſubſcribing to what we believe not a word of. The ſame railing accuſations have been frequently brought againſt us by Arians and Socinians, and as frequently anſwered. They have been very lately urged with great bitterneſs in that virulent and abuſive pamphlet, called the Confeſſional. It is very ſtrange that you ſhould repeat the ſame calumnies, which have been ſo lately and ſo fully anſwered in thoſe three excellent letters addreſſed to the author of the Confeſſional, without taking any notice of the anſwers therein given.

But you tell us that "[a] the Univerſity of *Oxford* have expelled her members for believing thoſe very doctrines which *Cranmer* and *Ridley* were martyred within her walls for defending." Here, ſir, you make their expulſion an act of the Univerſity, though in your dedication you tell us, that it is the higheſt injuſtice to that ancient and reſpectable ſeminary of true piety and learning to look upon it in this light. In what light then muſt we look upon you, who are guilty of this injuſtice? But were *Cranmer* and *Ridley* martyred for maintaining theſe doctrines? and muſt we take your word for this? for you have not vouchſafed to give the leaſt proof of it. I beg leave to tell you that *Cranmer* and *Ridley* were condemned and martyred for denying tranſubſtantiation [b], the ſacrifice of the maſs, and the Pope's ſupremacy. What their opinions were with regard to the doctrines of free agency, &c. may be ſeen in the book called [c] Pia et Catholica Inſtitutio, or Erudition of a Chriſtian Man, publiſhed 1543, by the King's authority, and authorized by the biſhops, with Abp *Cranmer* at the head of them.—With regard to free-will they thus

a P. 27.

b *Strype*'s Mem. of *Cranmer*, b. iii. c. 10. Dr. *Ridley*'s Life of Bp *Ridley*, b. v. 11.

c *Strype*'s Mem. of *Cranmer*, b. i. c. 20. *Burnet*'s Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol. i. 286, &c. *Ridley*'s Life of *Ridley*, f. 345, &c.

expreſs

expreſs themſelves " [a] Nec liberum arbitrium ita prædicent, ut gratiam Dei afficiant contumeliâ, nec gratiam ſic efferant, ut libero arbitrio locum non relinquant." Again—" [b] Deo ſapientiſſimo viſum eſt, ut homo invitatus per gratiam, quam poteſt, ſi velit, complecti vel aſpernari, in juſtificationis ſuæ opere non ſit otioſus." Again—" [c] Hoc ſane ſolius eſt gratiæ beneficium, quod primo voluntates ad bonum moventur et excitantur, at in tentatione reſiſtere ac vincere, in bonis his actionibus perſeverare, et progredi in ſtudio, illud utique et gratiæ eſt, et noſtri ſimul arbitrii et conatûs."

With regard to Election and Perſeverance it is there ſaid, " [d] niſi totâ mente in bona opera incumberemus, confeſtim ex Dei gratiâ, et ſtatu juſ-

a " Let them not ſo extol free will, as to do deſpite to the grace of God, nor ſo magnify grace, as to leave no room for free will.

b " It ſeemed good to the wiſdom of God, that Man being invited by grace, which he may, if he pleaſes, either embrace or reject, ſhould not be idle in the work of his juſtification."

c " This indeed is the gift of grace alone, that our wills are at firſt moved and excited to good; but in temptation to reſiſt, and overcome, to perſevere in theſe good actions, and to advance in the progreſs of virtue, that is the joint effect both of grace, and our own will and endeavours."

d " Did we not apply our whole mind to good works, we ſhould fall from the grace of God, and ſtate of juſtification, in which we were placed, and again be brought under the bondage of ſin."

titiæ

titiæ, in quem evecti eramus, excideremus, atque iterum in peccati ſervitutem redigeremur." Again, " [a] Cæterum an ſingularis aliqua ſit per fidem notitia, quâ quiſquam certè apud ſe ſtatuere et ſibi confirmare poſſit eſſe ſe de numero prædeſtinatorum, et eorum qui in chriſtianâ vocatione ad finem uſque perſeveraturi ſunt, non eſt ut in præſentiâ dicamus, cum nullam hujuſmodi notitiam, aut certitudinem vel divinarum literarum teſtimonio, vel ſanctorum patrum ſcriptis traditam commendatamve habeamus." Again,—" [b] Monendi ſunt homines ne damnationem ſuam Deo aſcribant, ſed ſibi, ſuoque vitio acceptam referant; qui tot Dei beneficiis ac donis pro ſuæ voluntatis malitiâ et libidine ingrati abutuntur."

Lastly, with regard to good works, they tell us, " [c] viſum eſt Deo ut homo in juſtificationis

a " Whether there be any diſtinct and particular knowledge given through faith, whereby a perſon may be able certainly to determine, and aſſure himſelf that he is of the number of the predeſtined, and of them who ſhall perſevere to the end in their chriſtian calling, there is no occaſion at preſent to enlarge on; ſince we have no ſuch knowledge or certainty delivered, or recommended to us, either by the teſtimony of the holy ſcriptures, or the writings of the holy fathers."

b " Men are to be admoniſhed not to aſcribe their own damnation to God, but to themſelves and their own vices, who through the malice and luſt of their own will, ungratefully abuſe ſo many bleſſings and gifts of God."

c " It ſeemed good to the Almighty that man ſhould not be idle in the work of juſtification, but by raiſing his mind, and by obedience, uſe his own endeavours to acquire it."

opere

opere non ſit otioſus, ſed per aſſenſum animi et obedientiam ad juſtificationem adipiſcendam ſuam ſibi operam accommodet."

THE ſame doctrine is taught in the [a] Reformatio Legum, publiſhed by our firſt reformers. There we read "[b] Quapropter omnes nobis admonendi ſunt ut in actionibus ſuſcipiendis ad decreta prædeſtinationis ſe non referant, cum et promiſſiones bonis, et minas malis, in ſacris ſcripturis generaliter propoſitas contemplemur[c]." Again, "[d] Etiam illi de juſtificatis perversè ſentiunt, qui credunt illos, poſtquam juſti ſimul facti ſunt, in peccatum non poſſe incidere; aut ſi forte quic-

a This Reformatio Legum was drawn up by commiſſioners appointed by King *Edward* VI. It is a ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical laws, and is ſuppoſed to have been compiled chiefly by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, who was at the head of that commiſſion. The King dying ſoon after, theſe laws were never confirmed by any authority, nor were they publiſhed till the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. They were then publiſhed by *John Fox*, with King *Edward*'s commiſſion bearing date Nov. 11. 1551. See *Strype*'s Mem. Vol. II. b. ii. p. 303. Life of *Cranmer*, b. ii. c. 26. p. 270. *Burnet*'s Hiſt. Ref. Vol. II. p. 2. b. i. p. 196, &c.

b "Wherefore all are to be admoniſhed by us that in their undertakings and actions, they are not to refer themſelves to the decrees of predeſtination, ſince in the holy ſcriptures we ſee promiſes to good actions, and threats to bad ones, propoſed in general terms.

c De Hæres. cap. 22.

d "They form very perverſe notions of the juſtified, who believe that after they are once made juſt, they cannot fall into

quam eorum faciunt quæ Dei legibus prohibentur, ea Deum pro peccatis non accipere[a]."

Let us next ſee what were *Latimer*'s ſentiments on theſe points — "[b] We need not (ſays he) go about to trouble ourſelves with curious queſtions of the predeſtination of God; but let us rather endeavour ourſelves, that we may be in Chriſt; for when we be in him, then are we well, and then we may be ſure that we are ordained to everlaſting life.—But you will ſay, how ſhall I know that I am in the book of life? how ſhall I try myſelf to be elect of God to everlaſting life? I anſwer, firſt, we may know that we may one time be in the book, and another time come out again; as appeareth by *David*, which was written in the book of life; but when he ſinned, he at the ſame time was out of the book of the favour of God, until he had repented, and was ſorry for his faults. So we may be in the book one time, and afterward, when we forget God and his word, and do wickedly, we come out of the book, that is, out of Chriſt. And in that book are written all believers. But I will tell you how you ſhall know when you are in the book: and there are three ſpecial notes, whereby you may know the ſame;

into ſin; or, if by chance they ſhould do any thing prohibited by the laws of God, that God does not impute it as ſin."

a De Hæres. cap. 9. b Serm. on 3d Sunday after the Epiphany.

the

the firſt note is, that you know your ſin, and feel your own wretchedneſs; then followeth the ſecond point, which is faith in Chriſt; that is, when you believe moſt ſtedfaſtly and undoubtedly, that God the heavenly Father thro' his Son will deliver you from your ſins. The third point is, when you have an earneſt deſire to amendment, and hatred againſt ſin, and ſtudy to live after God's will and commandments, as much as is poſſible for you to do."

AGAIN—"[a] The promiſes of Chriſt our Saviour are general: he made a general proclamation, ſaying, whoſoever believeth on me hath everlaſting life. He ſaith, come to me all ye that labour and are laden, and I will eaſe you.—Mark, here he ſaith, come ALL ye; wherefore then ſhould any man deſpair, or ſhut himſelf out from the promiſes of Chriſt, which be general, and pertain to the whole world? He that leaveth his wickedneſs and ſins, is content to amend his life, and then believing in Chriſt, ſeeketh ſalvation and everlaſting life by him, no doubt that man or woman, whoſoever he or they be, ſhall be ſaved." The holy martyr Biſhop *Hooper* inſiſts ſtrongly on the doctrine of univerſal redemption throughout the preface to his declaration of the ten commandments. The whole is well worth reading; I ſhall ſelect ſome paſſages. He ſaith, "that as far extendeth the virtue and

[a] Sermon on Matt. xxii. 2, &c.

ſtrength

ſtrength of God's promiſe to ſave men, as the rigour and juſtice of the law for ſin to damn men; for as by the offence and ſin of one man death was extended and made common to all men unto condemnation, as *Paul* ſaith, *Rom.* v. ſo by the juſtice of one is derived life unto all men to juſtification. If all then ſhall be ſaved, what is to be ſaid of thoſe that St. *Peter* ſpeaketh of, that ſhall periſh for their falſe doctrine? And likewiſe Chriſt ſaith, that the gate is ſtreight that leadeth to life, and few enter. *Matt.* vii. Thus the ſcripture anſwereth, that the promiſe of grace appertaineth unto every ſort of men in the world, and comprehendeth them all, howbeit within certain limits and bounds, the which if men neglect, or paſs over, they exclude themſelves from the promiſe in Chriſt: As *Cain* was no more excluded, till he excluded himſelf, than *Abel*; *Saul* than *David*; *Judas* than *Peter*; *Eſau* than *Jacob*." This holy man goes on to explain *Rom.* ix. and ſhews that the acceptation of *Jacob*, and reprobation of *Eſau* was only concerning the promiſes of the earth, not that *Eſau* was diſheryted of eternal life, but that he ſhould be inferior to his brother *Jacob* in this world, which prophecy was fulfilled in their poſterities, and not in the perſons themſelves. —— Again — "It is our office to ſee we exclude not ourſelves from the general grace promiſed to all men. It is not a chriſtian man's part to attribute his ſalvation to his own free will with the Pelagian, and

and to extenuate original ſin: Nor to make God the author of ill, and our damnation, with the Manichee. Nor yet to ſay God hath written fatal laws, as the Stoic; and with the neceſſity of deſtiny violently pulleth one by the hair into heaven, and thruſteth the other headlong into hell. But aſcertain thyſelf by the ſcripture, what be the cauſes of reprobation, and what of election. The cauſe of rejection or damnation is ſin in man, which will not hear, neither receive the promiſes of the goſpel, will not ſtudy to live thereafter, &c. So we judge of election by the event, or ſucceſs that happeneth in the life of man: thoſe only to be elected that by faith apprehend the mercy promiſed in Chriſt, otherwiſe we ſhould not judge of election. For *Paul* ſaith plainly, *Rom.* viii. that they that be led by the ſpirit of God are the children of God, and that the ſpirit of God doth teſtify with our ſpirits, that we are the children of God. Being admoniſhed by the ſcripture we muſt leave ſin, and do the works commanded of God, or elſe it is a carnal opinion, that we have blinded ourſelves withal, of fatal deſtiny, and will not ſave us."

And the ſame opinions biſhop *Ridley* ſeems to have held: for in a treatiſe of his publiſhed by Mr. *Fox* in his acts and monuments, he thus interprets that text, 1 *John* iii. 9. whoſoever is born of God doth not commit ſin; for his ſeed remaineth

maineth in him; "he meaneth ſo long as that ſeed doth abide in him, he cannot ſin."

If then we may be permitted to form our judgment of the doctrines which *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and our firſt reformers held and maintained, from their own writings and not from your aſſertions, the Univerſity of *Oxford*, [a] once the nurſing mother of ſo many faithful ſons of the Anglican church, is ſtill worthy of that high character, and has by this act of diſcipline approved herſelf ſuch. That theſe doctrines are conſiſtent with our articles of religion, and the homilies of our church, will be ſhewn in its proper place. But before I proceed to the diſcuſſion of this point, it will be proper to conſider the authority of that evidence by which you endeavour to ſupport the contrary doctrines of predeſtination, reprobation, &c. as the genuine doctrines of the Church of *England*. And firſt you infer it from the cenſures inflicted upon Mr *Barrett* of *Caius* College, *Cambridge*, for which we have the authority of that loyal and godly author Mr. *Prynne*. To the like objections urged by the author of the Confeſſional, I ſhall give the anſwer already given by the Letter-writer. "[b] Mr. *Strype* in his life of *Whitgift*, p. 435. ſaith, that till about the year 1595, *Calvin*'s way of explaining the divine decrees was not entertained by many learned men in the Univerſity of *Cambridge* [c]. But theſe opi-

a P. 27. b Letter 3d, p. 99. c Ibid. p. 35.

nions

nions were introduced by ſome of our divines, who, during the perſecution under Queen *Mary*, had fled to *Geneva* and *Zurich*. There they imbibed much *Calviniſm* in church government and diſcipline, and ſome rigid opinions in point of doctrine: and Dr. *Whitaker* being made Queen's Profeſſor of Divinity at *Cambridge*, and Dr. *Humphreys* at *Oxford*, theſe opinions prevailed much in both the Univerſities, about the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign. But "[a] although Calviniſm prevailed much in her reign both in the ſchools, and in the pulpit, yet it was not underſtood to be certainly the ſenſe of our articles even by thoſe who held this doctrine; for though they thought fit to cenſure *Barrett*, they durſt not venture to aſſert that his opinions were contrary to our articles; for in their letter to the Archbiſhop [b] they ſay, that they are fully perſuaded that *Barrett* had taught untruth, if not againſt the articles, yet againſt the religion of our church, publickly received and always held in her Majeſty's reign, and maintained in all ſermons, diſputations, and lectures." And even this plea (weak as it would have been, though true) was utterly falſe, and directly contrary to the Archbiſhop's declaration: nay they plainly acknowledge that theſe points were not concluded and defined by public authority; and in their ſecond admonition to the parliament, p. 43. they

a P. 35. b *Strype*'s Life of *Whitgift*, App. N°. 25.

acknowledge

acknowledge, " indeed the book of articles ſpeaketh very dangerouſly of falling from grace, which is to be reformed, becauſe it too much inclineth to their error."—Meaning the error of thoſe who now are called Arminians.

THE Archbiſhop cenſured their raſh and haſty proceedings againſt *Barrett*, for that in ſome points of his retractation they had made him to affirm that " which was contrary to the doctrine holden and expreſſed by many ſound and learned divines in the Church of *England*, and in other Churches likewiſe, men of beſt account; and that which, for his own part, he thought to be falſe and contrary to the ſcriptures; for the ſcriptures were plain, that God by his abſolute will did not hate and reject any man without an eye to his ſin; there might be impiety in believing the one, there could be none in believing the other: neither was it contrary to any article of religion eſtabliſhed by authority in the Church of *England*, but rather agreeable thereunto [a]."

AND that theſe doctrines were not then univerſally held appears farther from the " [b] learned *Hooker*'s ſermons at the *Temple*, where he preached what you call Arminianiſm; that predeſtination was not the abſolute will of God, but conditional; that the doings of the wicked were not of

a Strype's Life of Whitgift, P. 441. b Lett. 3. P. 36, 37.

the will of God poſitive, but only permiſſive; that reprobates are not rejected but for the evil works which God did foreſee they will commit. And when his opponent called for his authorities in expounding St. *Paul* againſt the judgment of all churches and all good writers, *Hooker* replied, that the ſentences which he might have cited out of all church confeſſions, together with the beſt learned monuments of former times, and not the meaneſt of our own, were more in number than perhaps he willingly would have heard of[a]".

In the next place we are preſented with the famous *Lambeth* articles; which we have nothing to do with, they being no part of our faith, nor ever eſtabliſhed by any legal authority, but rather forced upon the Univerſity in oppoſition to that authority. Theſe too are urged againſt us by the author of the Confeſſional, and every thing that he or you have ſaid, is fully anſwered by the Letter writer[b]. Theſe articles were drawn up by Dr. *Whitaker* and other *Calviniſts* at *Cambridge*. And the reaſon why they drew them up was, becauſe the 39 articles were not ſufficient for their purpoſe, "thoſe points being (as they themſelves acknowledged) not concluded and defined by public authority." The good Archbiſhop, though he had before expreſſed his diſlike of their proceedings againſt *Barrett*; yet was prevailed upon to

a Anſwer to *Travers*'s Supplication, ſect. 22, & 23.
b Third letter, p. 61, 76 &c.

agree

agree to theſe articles for the ſake of peace; praying to take care that nothing ſhould be publicly taught to the contrary; and that alſo in teaching them diſcretion and moderation ſhould be uſed, that ſuch as ſhould be in ſome points differing in judgment, might not be of purpoſe ſtung, or juſtly grieved: "And that the propoſitions nevertheleſs muſt be ſo taken and uſed as their private judgments, thinking them to be true and correſpondent to the doctrine profeſſed in the Church of *England*, and eſtabliſhed by the laws of the land; and not as laws and decrees[a]." But theſe articles gave great offence, not only in the Univerſity but at Court. The Queen was greatly diſpleaſed with them. And therefore the Archbiſhop wrote to *Cambridge*, "deſiring the Vice-Chancellor ſo to uſe the ſaid propoſitions as there might be no publication of them otherwiſe than in private." Notwithſtanding which the Queen reſented what the Archbiſhop and the reſt had done, and commanded her ſecretary to ſend unto his Grace, to acquaint him "that ſhe miſliked much that any allowance had been given by his Grace, and the reſt, of any ſuch points to be diſputed, being a matter tender and dangerous to weak ignorant minds: and thereupon that ſhe required his Grace to ſuſpend them[b]." And Lord *Burleigh*, Chancellor of the Univerſity reprimanded the Heads of Houſes on this occaſion,

a *Strype*'s Life of *Whitgift*, P. 462.

b Ibid. C. 18. *Heylin*'s Hiſt. Preſb. b. x, §. 7. Hiſt. of *Lamb*. art.

telling them " as good and ancient were of another judgment :" and that as for *Baro* whom they had cenſured, " Ye may puniſh him, (ſays he) if ye will ; but ye ſhall do it for well doing, in holding the truth, in my opinion [a]." And he delivered his opinion, to the Queen both of the doctrine itſelf and its pernicious conſequences, conſidered even in a civil view, thus ; " [b] It is not, ſaith he, difficult to perceive what theſe men aim at, for they think and teach that whatever human tranſactions are carried on, whether good or bad, they are all bound up by the law of an immutable decree ; and that this neceſſity is impoſed even upon the wills of men, that they cannot will otherwiſe than they do will. If theſe opinions, moſt auguſt Sovereign, be true, in vain both myſelf and your Majeſty's other faithful ſervants anxiouſly, and with much heſitation, deliberate what upon every occaſion ought to be done, what may be moſt conducive to your own welfare and that of the kingdom : ſince all conſultation muſt be fooliſh and vain concerning theſe matters, which muſt neceſſarily happen." [c] Nay we are told, that the Queen threatened the Archbiſhop with a premunire for what he had done in theſe matters. And thus theſe articles were repealed and ſuppreſſed. And when afterwards at the conference at *Hampton-court*, it was moved to add theſe aſſertions to

a *Strype's* Life of *Whitgift*, P. 441. *Heylin's* Hiſt. b. xi. §. 5. b See *Ellis Lamb.* art. Hiſt. P. 7. c Ibid.

the

the book of the 39 articles, this propoſal was rejected. To what purpoſe then do you urge the authority of the *Lambeth* articles, to which we never ſubſcribed, which were never eſtabliſhed, nor intended as laws for public uſe, but only as a temporary expedient to procure peace at that time at *Cambridge*, and which were recalled and ſuppreſſed as ſoon as publiſhed? Had you been acquainted with the hiſtory of them, how they were firſt obtained and impoſed, and afterwards ſuppreſſed, you would certainly have thought it more prudent not to have mentioned them.

STILL leſs to your purpoſe are the queſtions and anſwers bound up with ſome old bibles. If any biſhops, or others concerned in publiſhing an edition of the bible, ſhall think fit to annex a ſyſtem of their own notions to it, this does not make their notions goſpel, or give them the ſanction of public authority. But that theſe queſtions and anſwers were bound up in all the editions of Queen *Elizabeth*'s bibles is not true. They appear in neither of Archbiſhop *Parker*'s editions, nor in *Barker*'s of 1599. You will, I believe, find ſome difficulty in reconciling your account with chronology. You tell us they were bound up with the only bible in uſe in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time; and in confirmation of it produce the edition of 1607, ſome time after the Queen's death. I do not ſo much wonder that they ſhould have crept into ſome editions of the bible in K. *James* I. reign, when the puritans began to

take greater liberties in impoſing their tenets; though it ſhould ſeem from the edition (or rather new verſion) publiſhed by that King's authority in 1611, in which theſe queſtions and anſwers are not inſerted, that they were then diſcountenanced.

But to be more particular. — [a] In page 45, the laſt paragragh, and page 49, you aſſert what is not true — "That theſe queſtions and anſwers concerning predeſtination — were always printed at the end of the old teſtament, and bound up and ſold, *cum privilegio*, with this authorized tranſlation of the bible, till about the year 1615"—. It appears from p. 45, that you mean the *Biſhop's bible*. "I apprehend theſe queſtions &c. were never bound up with the Biſhop's bible, at leaſt *Lewis* in his hiſtory of the tranſlations of the bible from p. 235 to 264, mentions eight editions of it, and takes no notice of theſe queſtions &c. being printed with them, and he is very particular in giving the contents of them. But, as will appear hereafter, he takes particular notice when they were inſerted in the *Geneva* bible. A friend of mine has the beſt edition of the Biſhop's bible printed in 1572, fol. which has ſome corrections of the firſt edition of it in 1568. In that edition the queſtions &c. do not appear. Nor indeed could they with any

a The following account of this matter was communicated to me by a very judicious friend, who is well acquainted with the ſeveral editions of the bible, and the occaſions of them.

conſiſtency appear there, for Arcbiſhop *Parker*, the great promoter of this tranſlation, in his preface aſſerts the direct oppoſite to the third queſtion and anſwer. He aſſerts there — after quoting the text, Search the ſcriptures, for in them &c. " Theſe woordes were firſt ſpoken unto the *Jewes* our Saviour, but by him in his doctrine ment to al: for they concerne al, of what nation, of what tongue, of what profeſſion ſoever any man be. For to al belongeth it to be called unto eternal lyfe, ſo many as by the witneſſe of the ſcriptures deſire to finde eternal lyfe. No man, woman, or chylde, is excluded from this ſalvation, and therefore to every of them is this ſpoken, proportionally yet, and in their degrees, and ages, and as the reaſon and congruitie of their vocation may aſk." Again a little lower after quoting *Joſuah* 1. v. 8. He adds " Yet as wel ſpake almightie God this precept to al his people in the directions of their wayes to hymwarde, as he ment it to *Joſuah:* For that he hath care of al, he accepteth no man's perſon, his wyl is that al menne ſhould be ſaved, his wyl is that al menne ſhould comme to the way of trueth: How could this be more conveniently declared by God to man, then when Chriſt his wel beloved Son our moſt loving Saviour, the way, the trueth, and the lyfe of us al, dyd byd us openly ſearche the ſcriptures, aſſuring us herein to finde eternal life, to finde ful teſtification of al his graces and benefits towardes us in the treaſure therof? Therefore it is moſt convenient that we ſhould al ſuppoſe that

that Chriſte ſpake to us al in this his precept of ſearching the ſcriptures." How then do you make it out, that theſe queſtions and anſwers touching the doctrine of predeſtination were, by order of the ſaid godly Biſhops, bound up with this ſame bible? Or how do theſe queſtions and anſwers clearly demonſtrate the ſenſe of our Church touching the doctrines in queſtion? It ſhould ſeem from the above quotations, that the doctrine of our Church, at that critical time, was directly oppoſite to what is contained in the queſtions and anſwers, viz. the doctrine of univerſal redemption.

From page 264 to page 276, *Lewis* gives an account of the editions of the *Geneva* bible. The firſt of which, printed in *England*, was in 1572. It appears p. 234. of *Lewis*, from a letter of Archbiſhop *Parker*, that this bible was never intended for public uſe, but admitted to be printed for the uſe of private families. The firſt edition printed at *Geneva* was in the year 1557. *Lewis* p. 276 takes notice, that in one printed 1583, fol. certaine queſtions and anſwers touching the doctrine of predeſtination, &c. were inſerted. He adds in a note — "Theſe, I obſerve, were reprinted in the editions, 4to. 1592, 1615." 'Tis probable theſe queſtions and anſwers might be firſt joined to the *Geneva* bible of 1583. That they were not always printed with it, an edition of it in 1599, 4to. in my poſſeſſion can teſtify. Theſe queſtions

queſtions and anſwers therefore can only demonſtrate the ſenſe of the church of *Geneva*, or of the followers of that church, touching the doctrines in queſtion.

THE confeſſion of faith quoted by you p. 53. is bound up at the end of my *Geneva* bible of 1599. Therefore you conclude a little too faſt, that the doctrines mentioned in it — "are the ancient, undoubted, received tenets of the Church of *England*." I know not that it ever was joined to the authorized tranſlations.

THE patrons of the *Geneva* bible made uſe of all their power to get it eſtabliſhed as the authorized tranſlation, but they never could obtain any more than to have it printed here for the uſe of private families. *Cranmer*'s bible was always uſed in churches 'till the Biſhop's was printed in 1568, which ſuperſeded it; and *James* the Iſt's ſucceeded that in 1611."

YOUR quotation from the catechiſm aſcribed to Biſhop *Ponet* may ſeem more to your purpoſe; that catechiſm being ſet forth by command of King *Edward* VI. But neither does that come up to your point. The free-agency of man is not there denied, nor univerſal redemption: nor is the indefectibility of the elect aſſerted. The catechiſm it is true, ſpeaks in pretty high terms of election

tion and predeſtination. But you would have given a more fair repreſentation of the doctrine therein contained, had you not omitted the following paſſage which immediately precedes your quotation, viz: "To the church properly belong thoſe who truly fear, honour, and worſhip God, wholly applying their minds to live an holy and godly life, and who placing their only hope and confidence in him, expect with certainty the bleſſing of eternal life." After which follows—"As many as are in this faith ſtedfaſt were choſen, predeſtinated &c." We ſee then that in this author's opinion, thoſe only are elect and predeſtinated, who truly fear God and live a holy and godly life; the only fruits by which the good tree may be known [a].

But who would have thought that we ſhould be preſſed with the authority of the ſynod of *Dort?* and be told that the abettors of the doctrines of free-will &c. were deprived and debarred by this ſynod FROM ALL OFFICES IN ANY UNIVERSITY? How do the decrees of this ſynod concern us? Were they ever received in *England* or in this Univerſity? And what do you mean by ſaying that theſe errors were condemned by all the reformed churches? It was only a national ſynod, and it

a The judicious reader is deſired to conſult *Heylin*'s hiſt. quinq. artic. p. 2. chap. 15. at the beginning; where this quotation from Biſhop *Ponet*'s catechiſm is ſet in a clear and moſt ſatisfactory light. This hiſtory is an anſwer to *Prynn*'s Anti-arminianiſm, in which may be found this and moſt of your other arguments.

calls itſelf ſo: and its ſentence againſt the remonſtrants is directed only to all and ſingular the paſtors &c. *in fœderato Belgio*, " in the united Provinces." Its authority was never owned by the Lutheran churches, or here in *England*. Divines of other nations were indeed invited to this ſynod: but not many came. Our King *James* ſent there not five Biſhops and Doctors in Divinity, but only one Biſhop and three other Doctors in Divinity, and afterwards he ſent Dr. *Balcanqual*, a *Scotchman*. If theſe entered the ſynod rigid Calviniſts, they came from it much leſs ſo. If they ſigned the decrees of the ſynod, they did it with reſtrictions and limitations [a]. They offered theſe three propoſitions as their ſentiments, which they ſay were in like manner approved by the foreign Divines. I. " [b] Deus lapſi humani generis miſeratus, miſit filium ſuum, qui ſeipſum dedit pretium redemptionis pro peccatis totius mundi." II. " In hoc merito mortis Chriſti fundatur univerſale promiſſum evangelicum,

a *Hales*'s Golden Remains.

b God having compaſſion on the ſinful race of man, ſent his own Son, who gave himſelf a ranſom for the ſins of the whole world. II. In this merit of Chriſt's death is founded the univerſal promiſe of the goſpel; according to which all that believe in Chriſt may actually receive remiſſion of ſins, and life eternal. III. As according to this evangelical promiſe ſalvation is offered to all men, the adminiſtration of God's grace in the church is ſuch, as is ſufficient to convince all impenitent and incredulous men, that they have periſhed, and forfeited the benefits offered them, through their own voluntary fault, and through neglect or contempt of the goſpel,

juxta

juxta quod omnes in Chriſtum credentes remiſſionem peccatorum & vitam æternam reipsâ conſequantur." III. " In eccleſia, uti juxta hoc promiſſum evangelicum ſalus omnibus offertur, ea eſt adminiſtratio gratiæ ſuæ, quæ ſufficit ad convincendum omnes impænitentes & incredulos, quod ſua culpa voluntaria, vel neglectu, vel contemptu evangelii perierint, & beneficia oblata amiſerint."

These are opinions very different from yours, and plainly aſſert univerſal redemption and free-agency. It was indeed in a great meaſure owing to the heats and violence, with which matters were carried in that ſynod, and the great ſeverity of the horrible decrees there framed, that our *Engliſh* Divines, who attended that ſynod, began to have leſs reverence for the doctrines of *Calvin*. Thus it fared with the learned Mr. *Hales*, who went thither a rigid Calviniſt: " but there I bid *John Calvin* good night," ſaid he to his friend Mr. *Farindon*[a]. And Biſhop *Hall*, one of theſe Divines, publiſhed afterwards a ſmall piece entitled, *via media*, " the way of peace in theſe five buſy articles, commonly known by the name of *Arminius*." Here he endeavours to reconcile both parties by ſetting forth ſuch propoſitions, as he thought both might agree in; and tells us that the Church of *England*, in her articles, goes a mid-way betwixt both. Among theſe propoſitions (though I cannot ſubſcribe to all of

a Mr. *Farindon*'s letter prefixed to his Golden Remains.

them

them) there are theſe following; viz. "God does neither actually damn, or appoint any ſoul to damnation, without the conſideration and reſpect of ſin." "God pitying the woful condition of man, fallen by his free-will into ſin and perdition, ſent his own Son that he ſhould give himſelf a ranſom for the ſins of the whole world." "In working upon the will, God does not overthrow the nature of the will, but cauſeth it to work after its own native manner, freely and willingly." So much for the famous ſynod of *Dort!*

You had better have forborne to put us in mind of what paſſed in the ſucceeding reigns, or to have made mention of THAT HONOURABLE Houſe of Commons. I deſire you to conſider what faction it was, which then prevailed towards the overthrow of the Church. Was it not that of the Puritans? And were not the doctrines of Calviniſm their leading principles? Did they not hold theſe very tenets of election, abſolute predeſtination &c. which you ſo warmly eſpouſe? Theſe were the men who cried out, [a] The Church, The Church,—the Temple of the Lord are we; who called themſelves "the elect people of God," "his ſheep," "his choſen," "his ſaints;" who fancied themſelves acting under the influences of the ſpirit, and guided by his inſpiration: and under this perſuaſion broke out into treaſon and rebellion, murdered the beſt

a P. 73.

of

of Kings, and overthrew our excellent conſtitution both in church and ſtate. The doctrines which you would father upon *Cranmer* and *Ridley* were really thoſe of *Prynn*, *Hugh Peters*, *Marſhall*, *Owen*, and others, who compoſed the aſſembly of Divines, " moſt of whom were (according to my Lord *Clarendon* [a]) declared and avowed enemies to the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of *England*; ſome of them infamous in their lives and converſations; and moſt of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of ſcandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice to the Church of *England*."

We come now to the articles of religion. With regard to them, I would obſerve in general that they were drawn up with great moderation; and thoſe in particular which treat of theſe difficult points of free-will &c. were purpoſely worded in general terms, that perſons who were of different perſwaſions in ſeveral particulars relating to them might yet agree in the general doctrines there delivered. They went (as Biſhop *Hall* obſerves) a mid-way between both, guarding againſt the extremities on each ſide; on one hand condemning the Papiſts, who aſcribed a merit to good works, and on the other the Antinomians, who denied the neceſſity of them. We have an inſtance of the like moderation in the 23d article, which teaches " that

a Hiſt. Reb. vol. 1. b. 5. p. 415.

it

it is not lawful for any man to take upon himſelf the office of publick preaching or miniſtering the ſacraments in the congregation before he be lawfully called;" and that "thoſe we ought to judge lawfully called, which be choſen and called to this work, by men who have publick authority given them in the congregation to call and ſend miniſters into the Lord's vineyard." Who theſe men are is not here determined. The compilers were not willing to condemn or unchurch the reformed churches abroad, where epiſcopacy was not eſtabliſhed, and therefore prudently avoided determining the queſtion, whether epiſcopal ordination is neceſſary. Thoſe who hold, and thoſe who deny the neceſſity of epiſcopal ordination, may both ſubſcribe to this article: thoſe only are condemned by it, who hold that a man may preach without any lawful vocation. The ſame moderation the compilers of our articles have obſerved in the points before us. The Proteſtant churches abroad were divided in theſe points: ſome held with *Luther*, and ſome with *Calvin*. *Cranmer* and *Ridley* therefore, and the other compilers of our articles, expreſſed them purpoſely in general terms, ſo as to include all moderate men on both ſides, and condemn only the extremities on either.

But we are told that "[a] theſe articles were drawn up on purpoſe to prevent diverſity of opinions, and

[a] P. 32.

therefore

therefore the compilers of them were particularly careful to avoid the poſſibility of an ambiguous expreſſion." The very ſame objections were ſome time ago made by Dr. *Clarke*, and have been lately renewed by the author of the Confeſſional, and have received a ſufficient anſwer both from Dr. *Waterland* and the Letter-writer [a]. "The compilers could only mean diverſity of opinions about opinions expreſſed and decided in the articles, and not about others."

THE ſame Letter-writer diſtinguiſhes between general propoſitions and ambiguous or equivocal ones; and ſo did Dr. *Waterland* before him [b]. "It is not fairly ſuggeſted (ſays that excellent writer) that when men of different ſentiments, as to particular explications, ſubſcribe to the ſame general words, that they ſubſcribe in contradictory, or even in different ſenſes. Both ſubſcribe to the ſame general propoſitions, and both in the ſame ſenſe, only they differ in the particulars relating to it: which is not differing, (at leaſt it need not be) about the ſenſe of the article, but about particulars not contained in the article." His meaning may be illuſtrated by the following inſtance: We all ſubſcribe to this propoſition, viz. Subjects ought to be obedient to their lawful ſovereign; though we may differ about the motives of that obedience, and the authority on which it is founded; ſome

a Letter 2d, p. 136.
b Caſe of Arian ſubſcription, p. 40.

thinking

thinking it to be of divine right, others, that it is derived merely from the compact between King and people. What you add about the "[a] King's declaration prefixed to the articles" is also there fully answered. We say then that the articles are clear, as far as they go: but they leave many things relating to the points treated of undetermined. Thus the 23d article clearly condemns all who take upon them to preach, or administer the sacraments, without any outward ordination: but they leave it undetermined whether it is necessary that that ordination should be conferred by a Bishop. And thus also the articles before us clearly condemn the Papists, who hold the merit of good works; and the Pelagians, who condemn the necessity of grace, and hold that original sin standeth only in the following of *Adam*; they condemn also those rigours of Calvinism, which you espouse.—But (as the above-cited Letter-writer observes) "all intermediate opinions, how to reconcile God's prescience of a certainty of events with free-agency, the unequal vouchsafements of the means of grace, their sufficiency and efficacy, the co-operations of grace and free-will &c. are left undetermined. Betwixt the extremes which are condemned (says the same writer) nice questions may exercise the subtleties of the schools, which our articles meddle not with. Their purpose is to recommend such a reconciliation of grace and free will, God's decrees,

[a] P. 32.

and his general promiſes, as may teach us to avoid deſpair and unclean living, and influence us to follow in our doings that will of God expreſsly declared to us in the word of God. But to deſcend to particulars:

Firſt, Of Free-will.

We acknowledge with the article the great corruption and depravity of human nature, the neceſſity of grace, and the inability of man without the aſſiſtance of God's grace to perform any good works. How injurious therefore is your inſinuation "that any of theſe men were expelled becauſe they held the [a] influences of the holy ſpirit neceſſary to conſtitute every one a child of God." There was no ſuch article of accuſation, and God forbid that there ever ſhould. You muſt be ſenſible that you have ſhamefully miſrepreſented this matter, and that they were accuſed not of holding the influences, but the ſupernatural, extraordinary, and irreſiſtible influences of the holy ſpirit. But to return—as God is ready to afford his grace to all who will concur with it, ſo 'tis left to man's free choice, whether he will concur with it, or no. And therefore, if he periſhes for want of this grace, 'tis entirely his own fault. Will you then ſay that the doctrine of man's free-will to good or evil was held in utter abhorrence by our reformers? The contrary has appeared by quotations from the Pia et Ca-

[a] P. 63.

tholica

tholica Inſtitutio — " [a] Nec liberum arbitrium ita prædicent, ut gratiam Dei afficiant contumeliâ, nec gratiam ſic efferant ut libero arbitrio locum non relinquant — are their words. And one of the articles of religion in King *Edward* the VIth's time thus expreſſes it — " [b] Gratia Chriſti voluntati violentiam nullam infert; et nemo hâc de causâ, cum peccaverit, ſeipſum excuſare poteſt, quaſi nolens aut coactus peccaverit." St. *Auſtin* alſo the great aſſertor of the neceſſity of grace againſt the Pelagians, aſſerts the freedom of man's will in ſeveral parts of his works. In his 47th epiſtle he exhorts chriſtians, " [c] ut in fide catholicâ perſeverent, quæ neque liberum arbitrium negat, ſive in vitam malam, ſive in bonam, neque tantum ei tribuit, ut ſine gratiâ Dei valeat aliquid." Nay, he has a whole book de gratiâ et libero arbitrio, written purpoſely to confute the error of thoſe, " [d] qui ſic

a " Let them not ſo extol free will, as to do deſpite to the grace of God, nor ſo magnify grace, as to leave no room for free will.

b " The grace of Chriſt offers no violence to the will, and no one may on this account, when he has ſinned, excuſe himſelf, as if he had ſinned involuntarily, and by compulſion.

c " That they would perſevere in the catholic faith, which neither denies free-will, whether to a good or bad life, nor attributes ſo much to it, as that it can have any efficacy without the grace of God."

d " Who ſo defend the grace of God as to deny the free-will of men, or think, that when the grace of God is aſſerted, free-will is denied."

gratiam Dei defendunt, ut negent hominis liberum arbitrium, aut, quum gratia defenditur, negari existiment liberum arbitrium." And he there proves the freedom of the will from many texts of scripture. And indeed, if men have no freedom of will, there can be neither virtue nor vice, reward nor punishment. To say that men are from their birth laid under a necessity of sinning, is to make God the author of sin. But I choose to urge these arguments in the words of St. *Austin*. " [a] Nunc verò usque adeò peccatum voluntarium est malum, ut nullo modo sit peccatum si non sit voluntarium : et hoc quidem ita manifestum est, ut nulla hinc doctorum paucitas, nulla indoctorum turba dissentiat [b]." Again — " [c] Peccatum fit ab animâ rationali, cui liberum voluntatis arbitrium est: & pœ-

a " Now sin is so far a voluntary evil, that it can by no means be sin, if it be not voluntary; and this is indeed so evident, that neither the learned few, nor illiterate many have dissented from it."

b De vera relig. lib. 1. cap. 13.

c " Sin proceeds from a rational soul, which has freedom of will; and the justice of God inflicts punishment, who does nothing unjustly. Against this doctrine the Manichees with their usual blindness object; and though they are convinced that nature is not evil, but that it is in the power of man to do well or ill, yet say that the will of the soul is not free, not seeing their own absurdity : For who does not cry out that it is absurd to give precepts to him who is not at libertv to do what is commanded, and that it is unjust to condemn him who had it not in his power to fulfil the command? And the wretches do not perceive that they ascribe this injustice and iniquity to God.

nam

nam infligit juſtitia Dei, qui nihil facit injuſtè. Adverſus hæc ſolitâ cœcitate Manichæi latrant, et cum convincuntur naturam non eſſe malum, ſed in poteſtate eſſe hominis facere benè aut malè, dicunt non eſſe animæ liberam voluntatem, et non vident cæcitatem ſuam. Quis enim non clamet ſtultum eſſe præcepta dare ei, cui liberum non eſt quod præcipitur facere, & iniquum eſſe eum damnare, cui non fuit poteſtas juſſa complere. Et has injuſtitias & iniquitates miſeri non intelligunt Deo ſe aſcribere [a]." Nay, all the precepts and exhortations, the promiſes and threatnings in ſcripture ſuppoſe man to be a free agent. "[b] I have ſet before you life and death, bleſſing and curſing, (ſaid God to the *Jews)* therefore chooſe life, that both thou and thy ſeed may live. [c] Caſt away from you all your tranſgreſſions whereby ye have tranſgreſſed, and make you a new heart and a new ſpirit, for why will ye die, O houſe of *Iſrael?* for I have no pleaſure in the death of him that dieth, ſaith the Lord God: wherefore turn yourſelves and live ye." And with regard to the heathen nations before the coming of Chriſt, we are told, "[d] that the Gentiles which had not the law, did by nature the things contained in the law; and that the work of the law was written in their hearts, their conſcience alſo bearing witneſs, and their thoughts the mean while accuſing, or elſe excuſing one

a De fide contra Manich. c. 10.

b Deut. xxx. 19. c Ezek. xviii. 31, 32. Rom. ii. 14, 15.

another. The [a] ſame ſcriptures which teach us that God worketh in us both to will and to do *out of his loving kindneſs* [b] (as it ſhould be tranſlated) exhort us alſo to work our own ſalvation; [c] to give diligence to make our calling and election ſure; [d] to lay hold on eternal life; [e] to receive not the grace of God in vain; and [f] to grieve not the holy ſpirit of God, whereby we are ſealed unto the day of redemption.

But not to multiply inſtances — our Saviour aſſerts the freedom of man's will in that pathetical addreſs to the city of *Jeruſalem*, *Matt.* 23. 17. "O *Jeruſalem*, *Jeruſalem* &c." I chooſe to inſert here the ſentiments of the celebrated *Eraſmus* on this paſſage of our Saviour, and its parallel one in *Luke* 13, 34. becauſe his excellent paraphraſe on the goſpels, you know, was tranſlated, and by the injunctions of King *Edward* VI. and Queen *Elizabeth* was ordered to be placed in churches for the inſtruction of the people. His authority then ought to have weight, as it has the ſanction of our two princely leaders in the reformation. *Matt.* 23. 37. "*Hieruſalem*, *Hieruſalem*, whiche killeſt the prophets, and ſtoneſt to death them that be ſent unto the, howe often have I travayled to gather thy chyldren together lyke as the careful hen, fearyng her chickens,

a Phil. ii. 12, 13. b υπερ της ευδοκιας. c 2 Pet. i. 10. d 1 Tim. vi. 19, e 2 Cor. vi. 1. f Eph. iv. 30.

dothe

dothe cloke them together, and noryſhe them under her wynges, and thou wouldeſt not. Nothing is let paſſe of my behalfe, whereby thou mighteſt be ſaved, but contrarywyſe thou haſt done what thou canſt to bryng deſtruction to the, and to exclude ſalvation from the. But to whom free wyll is once gyven, he cannot be ſaved agaynſt hys wyll. "Your wyll ought to be agreeable unto my wyll." fol. LXXXV. Again *Luke* 13. 34. after repeating the text, he adds, "But thy ſtubberneſſe hath gon beyond my goodneſs: and as though thou haddeſt even vowed and beheaſted thy ſelf to uttre ruine, ſo dooeſt thou refuſe all thynges whereby thou mighteſt bee recovered and made whole." fol. 100.

As to the next article of ELECTION and REPROBATION, I think the queſtion may be decided by what has been ſaid under the former articles; for if all men are to be judged according to their works, and if they have freedom of will either to do good or evil, there can be then no abſolute and irreſpective decrees, either of election, or reprobation. But here we are preſſed with the authority of the 17th article. I anſwer in the words of the letter to the author of the Confeſſional [a]. The contrary opinions charged on the 17th article, are not contained in it, but are conſequences drawn by different men from different parts of it, which the article was not

a Let. 2d. p. 160.

framed

framed to maintain, but to avoid. The article aſſerts a predeſtination to life, or God's everlaſting purpoſe, before the foundations of the world were laid, to deliver from curſe and damnation thoſe, whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt to everlaſting ſalvation; and together with the end to grant alſo the means, effectual calling, juſtification, adoption. But when it is inferred by the fataliſt, that this decree is irreſpective and abſolute, without faith and obedience foreſeen, it is a doctrine (whether true or falſe) ſuperadded to the article." And again, ſays the ſame excellent writer[a], " that theſe articles are ſuſceptible of a ſenſe, that is what you call Arminianiſm, is certain, becauſe the compilers meant to warn people againſt a predeſtination, which was contrary to conditional promiſes, not to aſcribe their damnation to God, but to their own fault, and to accord grace and free-will, as not to maintain either to the denial of the other. This appears by a ſummary of doctrines publiſhed by them about eight years before the articles came out, and from the Reformatio Legum drawn up in the ſame year."

I WOULD farther obſerve, that the article ſpeaks of a predeſtination decreed by God's counſel ſecret to us, and to be diſcerned only by the working of the ſpirit of Chriſt mortifying the works of the fleſh; and directs us to receive God's pro-

a Letter 3d, p. 96.

miſes

miſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth to us in the holy ſcripture: But there we ſhall find all theſe promiſes conditional. " [a] If thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments (ſaith our Saviour.) [b] He that endureth to the end ſhall be ſaved. His apoſtle exhorts us to give [c] diligence to make our calling and election ſure: for if we do theſe things we ſhall never fall; which plainly implies, that, unleſs we uſe our own diligence, our calling and election is not ſure; and that, if we take not care to do theſe things, to add to our faith virtue &c. we *may* and *ſhall* fall.

You are pleaſed to give us ſeveral proofs of your notion of election, from the offices of the Church of *England*; I wiſh you had choſen to do it from ſcripture, which is our rule of faith, and by which the doctrines of our Church muſt be ultimately tried; but you will find no proof there of any abſolute election, without any reſpect to men's faith and obedience.

But ſince you appeal to our liturgy, which is appointed for the daily ſervice of the Church, and may therefore be ſuppoſed to contain in its various offices the pure and genuine doctrines of the goſpel, it will not be improper to examine it more minutely with reſpect to the doctrines of free-will, univerſal redemption, falling from grace &c.

a Matt. xix. 17. b Matt. x. 22. Mar. xiii. 13.
c 2 Pet. i. 10.

The

The ſentences of ſcripture, with which the morning and evening prayer are appointed to begin, fully declare the free-will of man; his acceptance with God whenever he ſhall turn away from his wickedneſs; and God's faithfulneſs upon our confeſſion and repentance to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs. — The exhortation, confeſſion, and abſolution have an immediate reference to theſe ſentences and are framed upon the doctrines herein contained. In the exhortation we are all entreated not to "diſſemble nor cloak our ſins, but to confeſs them with an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart, to the end that we may obtain forgiveneſs of the ſame:" according to which exhortation, we proceed to confeſſion.

In the abſolution the prieſt declares that "almighty God deſireth not the death of a ſinner but rather that he may turn from his wickedneſs and live," and by divine authority pronounces that "God pardoneth and abſolveth all them that truly repent."——What words can more fully expreſs his gracious promiſes to all men if they will repent, or the power which he has given to all men by repentance and faith to lay hold of thoſe promiſes?——In the Lord's prayer we petition God not to lead us into temptation, which implies that all, the very beſt of men, are liable to fall into temptations and divers luſts, which may

may drown the ſoul in perdition. But how is this conſiſtent with an abſolute impoſſibilty of falling from grace? — The hymn called Te Deum thus celebrates the univerſal redemption by the incarnation and death of Chriſt, " when thou tookeſt upon thee to deliver man thou didſt not abhor the virgin's womb; when thou didſt overcome the ſharpneſs of death, thou didſt open the kingdom of heaven to all believers." —— The ſuffrages offered up by the prieſt and all the congregation alternately, are quite inconſiſtent with your notion of abſolute predeſtination and indefectible aſſurance. " Grant us thy ſalvation,— take not thy holy ſpirit from us."— From the petition, " make thy choſen people joyful," you infer indeed your doctrine of election; but the word choſen or elect in [a] ſcripture ſignifies either all Chriſtians in general, or [b] ſuch Chriſtians as walk worthy of the vocation by which they are called. Nor does it bear a different ſenſe in our offices, — God has knit together his elect, *i. e.* all Chriſtians in one communion and fellowſhip — God the Holy Ghoſt, who ſanctifieth all the elect people of God, *i. e.* all Chriſtians, or at leaſt all good Chriſtians, who are ready to comply with his motions. I wonder how you could quote this, and overlook the article immediately preceding it,

a 2 Tim. ii. 10. Col. iii. 12. Titus i. 1. 1 Pet. i. 2. 2 John i. 7. 1 Pet. v. 13. Rom. xi. 7. Epheſ. i. 4. 2 Theſſ. ii. 13.

b Matt. xx iv. 24. 31. Luke xviii. 7. Rom. viii. 33.

which

which expreſsly aſſerts the univerſality of Chriſt's redemption, " I believe in God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind." All thoſe therefore whom God the Son hath redeemed, God the Holy Ghoſt ſanctifies: but both only on condition of their own concurrence and compliance with the terms offered. Laſtly, we beſeech God ſhortly to accompliſh the number of his elect, *i. e.* all thoſe who ſhall finally perſevere and depart in the true faith of his holy name, as the collect itſelf explains it.

The word elect frequently occurs in the Roman breviary; the Papiſts make uſe of it in their rituals as well as we: I will only give you one inſtance of it; " [a] Dulciſſime domine Jeſu Chriſte, per virtutem ſanctiſſimæ paſſionis tuæ recipe me in numerum ELECTORUM tuorum." So that if the uſe of this word will prove the compilers of our liturgy Predeſtinarians, it will prove the Church of *Rome* ſo too, and that in this reſpect it is as orthodox as Calviniſm itſelf.

In the litany we beſeech God to ſtrengthen ſuch as do ſtand, and to raiſe up them that fall. But to put the matter beyond all doubt I refer you to the office of publick baptiſm of infants: where the prieſt, after having read the goſpel appointed for that occaſion &c. thus addreſſes the ſponſors,

[a] Modus juvandi morientes.

" Dearly

" Dearly beloved, ye have brought this child here to be baptized, ye have prayed that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt would vouchſafe to receive him, to releaſe him from his ſins, to ſanctify him with the Holy Ghoſt, to give him the kingdom of heaven and everlaſting life: ye have heard alſo that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath promiſed in his goſpel to grant all theſe things that ye have prayed for; which promiſe he for his part will moſt ſurely keep and perform." And after having performed the office of baptiſm, he thus addreſſes the ſupreme being, " We yield thee hearty thanks, moſt merciful Father, that it hath pleaſed thee to regenerate this infant with thy holy ſpirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption and to incorporate him into thy holy Church."

From theſe paſſages I infer that it is the plain and undoubted doctrine of our Church that every perſon, who is by baptiſm admitted into the Chriſtian covenant, is partaker of theſe high privileges, and becomes thereby, as our catechiſm ſets forth, " a member of Chriſt, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." That *all* Chriſtians are by baptiſm admitted into a ſtate of grace, and will moſt aſſuredly, if they perform their part, be entitled to the " promiſes of God made to them in that ſacrament." With regard to infants the rubric declares, " it is certain by God's word that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual ſin, are undoubtedly

ſaved

ſaved:" with reſpect to thoſe who come to age to take the promiſes of their ſureties upon themſelves, they have the ſame aſſurances on God's part, if they will on their part perform what is promiſed for them, which, as the catechiſm declares "they are bound to perform." Where then is your doctrine of abſolute, irreſpective predeſtination, and reprobation, which would include children as well as adults, being as you repreſent it "an abſolute choice of ſome in preference of others, even before the children are born, or have done good or evil." p. 55. Let me obſerve that our Church in this rubric profeſſedly declares her tenets on theſe points, to which therefore any ambiguous expreſſion, which may occur in her other offices, muſt be reconciled, unleſs you will ſuppoſe her to be inconſiſtent with herſelf.

As to the doctrine of ABSOLUTE REPROBATION, it is no where taught in our articles, nor in the ſcriptures, but juſt the contrary. Our [a] articles ſay that "Chriſt came to take away the ſins of the world; and that [b] Chriſt hath made a perfect redemption and ſatisfaction for the ſins of the whole world." Our catechiſm teaches us that "the Son of God redeemed all mankind." Our communion-office expreſsly aſſerts "that Chriſt hath made a full, perfect, and ſufficient ſacrifice, oblation, and ſatisfaction for the ſins of the whole

a Art. 35. b Art. 31.

world

world." Our collects declare that "God hateth nothing that he hath made, nor would the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould be converted and live." This you ſeem ſenſible of, and therefore tell us that "[a] where we find any expreſſions in our church-ſervice, (and I ſuppoſe in ſcripture too) of Chriſt dying for all men &c. theſe mean that his ſacrifice and undertaking were infinite and all ſufficient: — but the application of this ſacrifice and undertaking is every where confined to the elect people of God, to his ſheep, his choſen, his church, his ſeed, his ſpouſe, his members." A miſerable quibble this! Suppoſe an act of grace to be ſet forth by a King, declaring his royal will, that all debtors in every priſon throughout his dominions ſhould be releaſed on condition that they would preſent an humble petition to him by the hand of his Son, (who had diſcharged their ſeveral debts) and comply with other terms therein ſpecified: but that ſecret orders had been previouſly given to prevent greateſt part of thoſe debtors from a poſſibility of preſenting their petition, or performing the terms required. What would you think of the wiſdom or mercy of ſuch a King? — Such is the character under which you repreſent the Majeſty of heaven; ſuch you would perſuade us are his dealings with the children of men. Had you ſaid that the redemption was univerſal, but its application was confined to thoſe only who would comply with the terms of the goſ-

[a] P. 55.

pel-

pel-covenant, you had ſpoken the words of ſoberneſs and truth: But it is an inſult on common ſenſe to acknowledge that God hath given Chriſt to be a propitiation for the ſins of the whole world, and at the ſame time pretend, [a] that the greateſt part of the world, are without any fault or neglect of their own, abſolutely excluded from the benefit of it; that they are appointed to damnation, reprobated by God himſelf unto death [b], and that it is not in their power to be ſaved. You tell us "[c] you could bring proof upon proof of this doctrine:" and why did not you? Thoſe ſcripture appellations of the elect people of God &c. which you would appropriate to yourſelf and your ſect, are applied in ſcripture to Chriſtians in general. The elect and choſen of God are all good Chriſtions; [d] Chriſt's ſheep are they, who hear his voice and follow him, and [e] abound in good works. [f] The *church* in ſcripture ſignifies the whole body of Chriſtians, of which Chriſt is the head, [g] and we being many are one body in Chriſt, and every one members one of another.

THAT the doctrine of univerſal redemption is the doctrine of the Church of *England* has already appeared from her articles and offices. The ſame doctrine is alſo taught in her homilies. They teach "[h] that Chriſt ſuffered death univerſally

a P. 46. b Art. *Lamb.* 1. & 9. P. 44, 45. c P. 55. d Joh. x. 3, 4. e Matt. xxv. 32 &c. f Eph. v. 23 &c. Rom. xii. 5. d Second hom. on the paſſion.

for

for all men." Again, "God ſo loved the world, ſaith St. *John*, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whoſoever believeth in him, ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life." But to whom did he give him? He gave him to the whole world, that is to ſay, to *Adam* and all that ſhould come after him. That this was alſo the doctrine of our firſt reformers, appears already from the citations produced from Biſhop *Hooper* and *Latimer*. To theſe might be added the teſtimony of other foreign Proteſtants, and thoſe of the primitive writers. "[a] For the four firſt ages, ſays the learned Biſhop *Bull*, no true member of the Catholic Church ever dreamt of that predeſtination, which ſome now make the very baſis and foundation of Chriſtianity. Thoſe pious Chriſtians, illuſtrious both in their life and death, lived and died in the firm perſuaſions of thoſe truths, that Chriſt was the common Saviour of mankind, that no one to whom the goſpel of Chriſt was made known could attain eternal happineſs without obeying his commands; that no one could obey theſe commands without the grace and ſpirit of Chriſt; that the grace of God would not work out our ſalvation without the concurrence of our own induſtry: that this grace was wanting to no man; that he, who by the grace of God was in a ſtate of ſalvation, might by his own fault fall from that ſtate and periſh eternally, and therefore he who thought he ſtandeth ſhould take heed leſt he fall." But I rather chooſe to appeal to the teſtimony of ſcrip-

a *Bulli* opera, p. 682.

ture. And I could wiſh you had rather conſulted your bible, than had recourſe to certain queſtions and anſwers bound up with it. There you will find the doctrine of univerſal redemption taught in the plaineſt terms. There the goſpel is called the [a] grace of God, which bringeth ſalvation to all men. Our Saviour himſelf declares [b] "that God ſo loved the world, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life." St. *Paul* teaches us, [c] "that Chriſt Jeſus gave himſelf a ranſom for all; that [d] he died for all; [e] that as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even ſo by the righteouſneſs of one the free gift came upon all men unto juſtification of life; [f] that he is the Saviour of all men, ſpecially of thoſe that believe." St. *John* [g] ſays, "Jeſus Chriſt is the propitiation for our ſins: and not for ours only, but alſo for the ſins of the whole world." Nay, he died for them that periſh, "[h] deſtroy not him with thy meat, for whom Chriſt died," ſaith the apoſtle. Again, "[i] Through thy knowledge ſhall the weak brother periſh, for whom Chriſt died?" Again, we are told, "[k] that God would have all men to be ſaved; [l] that he is not willing that any ſhould periſh, but that all

a Επιφανη γαρ η χαρις του Θεου η σωτηριος πασιν ανθρωποις. Tit. ii. 11.

b Joh. iii. 16. c 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6. d 2 Cor. v. 14.
e Rom. v. 18. f 1 Tim. iv. 10. g Joh. ii. 1, 2.
h Rom. xiv. 15. i 1 Cor. viii. 11. k 1 Tim. ii. 4.
l 2 Pet. iii. 9.

ſhould come to repentance." How dare you then confine the application of this redemption to the Elect only, *i. e.* to yourſelf and a few other babes of grace? Do you conſider the dreadful conſequences of this doctrine? a doctrine injurious both to God and man. That God ſhould conſign over the greateſt part of mankind to everlaſting deſtruction before they were born, without any reſpect to their good or evil works; that he ſhould give them no power to perform any good work, and yet ſhould damn them eternally for not doing what they were under an abſolute impoſſibility of doing, is a doctrine, which it is impoſſible to reconcile to any notions, which we can form of God's goodneſs, holineſs, or juſtice. "Theſe wretches do not underſtand that they aſcribe theſe ſins and iniquities to God" (ſays St. *Auſtin*). But to this you think it ſufficient to anſwer, "[a] O man, who art thou that replieſt againſt God?" But St. *Paul* there ſpeaks of the gifts of God, which he diſperſes arbitrarily, according to his good pleaſure. He may impart the clear knowledge of his will to one nation and not to another, without any impeachment of his juſtice. [b] But with regard to rewards and puniſhments, there is no reſpect of perſons with God; but he will render to every man according to his deeds. But you are pleaſed to object againſt making the Almighty ſpirit de-

a P. 56. Rom. ix. 20.

b Rom. ii. 6 &c. See anſwer to the Confeſſional, letter iii. p. 82.

pendent on the will of the fallen creature. p. 73. And do not you ſee that you compliment the Omnipotence and Sovereignty of God at the expence of his juſtice, holineſs and goodneſs? Muſt not the ſentence of a righteous judge depend on the behaviour of thoſe over whom he exerciſes judgment? And if God will judge the world in righteouſneſs, muſt not his decrees with regard to this judgment, in this reſpect, depend on the actions of his creatures, and the uſe they have made of their free-will?

TELL me, if you can, how God can lay any man under a neceſſity of ſinning conſiſtently with his goodneſs; or how he can ſentence a man lying under that neceſſity to eternal damnation conſiſtently with his juſtice and righteouſneſs. I charge not you, ſir, but I muſt charge your doctrine, in its neceſſary conſequences, with the moſt glaring abſurdity and groſs impiety againſt God; I wiſh too you would conſider how uncharitable your notions are with regard to mankind. Pray, who are theſe ſheep, theſe elect people of God, to whom you and your aſſociates would confine the benefits of Chriſt's redemption? — Yourſelves only — all the reſt of mankind you moſt charitably conſign over to eternal damnation. The heathen world, I ſuppoſe, are not to be reckoned among the elect people of God, nor belong to his Church: All Heretics and Papiſts are excluded, for they are limbs of anti-chriſt, hold doctrines of devils, and ſhall

ſhall be damned with unquenchable fire: And all Proteſtants too, who have adopted this hereſy of univerſal redemption, and held theſe doctrines of devils, theſe Popiſh [a] doctrines of free-will, conditional ſalvation &c. fall under the ſame cenſure, and are alſo to be damned with unquenchable fire. They only who are predeſtinated, who feel in themſelves the motions of ſpiritual life, and an aſſurance of their own ſalvation, are the choſen flock; all others are excluded, all the good people of *England*, except the Methodiſts, Moravians and Quakers; all the Univerſity of *Oxford*, except the pious congregation of Mrs. *Durbridge*. Thus you confine that Grace of God, which bringeth ſalvation to all men, to yourſelves alone, and

a You pretend, p. 73, to be much alarmed at the great increaſe of Popery in our land, and inſinuate that we, by holding the doctrine of free-will and univerſal redemption, are the moſt ſtrenuous abettors of it, "declaring that there is leſs danger to be apprehended from private maſs-houſes than from public authorized chairs of oratory." But let me tell you, that the only quarter from whence any real danger may be apprehended is that, from whence diviſions are cauſed, and ſchiſms made in the Church. The great door to Popery has been opened by the preſumption of ignorant and fooliſh men, who pretend to be teachers, and fill their hearers with ſpiritual pride, and a contempt of their lawful paſtors — who draw them from what you call, the public authorized chairs of oratory, into private ſocieties, and illicit conventicles, and teach them to neglect the ſervice, and deſpiſe the ordinances of the Church. It has been the conſtant buſineſs of Papiſts to ſow diviſions among us, from whence they have reaped a plentiful harveſt, to the increaſe of which you and your friends have greatly contributed.

damn all others who are not of your ſect and party: And herein you are more uncharitable than the Papiſts themſelves; they admit all of their communion, which takes in a large body of Chriſtians. You exclude even your fellow Proteſtants, all but thoſe, who in theſe abſtruſe and difficult points hold the ſame tenets with yourſelves.

YOUR doctrine of PERSEVERANCE is nearly allied to the two former: If man has no free-will, but is abſolutely predeſtinated to eternal ſalvation, then we muſt acknowledge that he cannot fall from grace. On the other hand, if we may fall from grace, there can be no abſolute decree of election. And here you and your diſciples hold, that he who is once a child of God is always a child of God, and that God never caſts off thoſe whom he hath once received. But herein you contradict the articles of the Church of *England*, to which you have ſubſcribed, and therefore are ſubject to the ſame cenſures you ſo liberally beſtow on us. The 16th article teaches that, after we have received the Holy Ghoſt, we may depart from grace given, and fall into ſin; and that deadly ſin is here meant, appears from the beginning of the article. It follows that by the grace of God we may riſe again, which plainly implies that we alſo may not riſe again.

YOU contradict our homilies. Among the homilies publiſhed in K. *Edward* the VIth's time, there

there is one concerning the danger of falling from God. It ſpeaks of thoſe who truly believe the goſpel; "be transformed to the image of Chriſt; be made partakers of the heavenly light, and of the holy ſpirit; and be faſhioned to him in all goodneſs requiſite to the children of God;" and ſays that "if they after neglect the ſame, if they be unthankful unto him; if they order not their lives according to his example and doctrine &c. he will take away from them his kingdom &c. and if they remain diſobedient to his word and will, they ſhall never enter into his reſt, which is the kingdom of heaven."

In the ſecond homily on the ſame ſubject we are told, "that if we, who are the choſen vineyard of God, bring not forth good grapes, that is to ſay, good works, — he will let us lie waſte, will give us over; he will turn away from us, he will dig and delve no more about us — he will ſuffer us to bring forth brambles, bryars and thorns; all naughtineſs, all vice; and that ſo abundantly, that they ſhall clean overthrow us, choke, ſtrangle, and utterly deſtroy us;" and applying this parable, the homily adds, "Let us beware therefore, good chriſtian people, leſt that we rejecting or caſting away God's word, be at length caſt off ſo far, that we become as the children of unbelief, in a damnable ſtate."

THE ſame doctrine is taught in the ſecond book of homilies publiſhed in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time. " [a] Theſe things well conſidered, let us now in the reſt of our life declare our faith that we have in this moſt fruitful article, by framing ourſelves therunto, in riſing daily from ſin to righteouſneſs, and holineſs of life: for what ſhall it avail us (ſaith St. *Peter)* to be eſcaped and delivered from the filthineſs of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, if we be entangled again therewith, and be overcome again? Certainly it had been better, (ſaith he) never to have known the way of righteouſneſs, than after it is known, to turn back again from the holy commandment of God given unto us — What a ſhame were it for us being ſo clearly and freely waſhed from our ſins, to return to the filthineſs thereof again: What a folly were it, thus endowed with righteouſneſs, to loſe it again? What a madneſs were it to loſe the inheritance that we be now ſet in, for the vile and tranſitory pleaſure of ſin? And what an unkindneſs ſhould it be, where our Saviour Chriſt is come to us, to dwell with us as our gueſt, to drive him from us, to baniſh him violently out of our ſouls, and inſtead of him, in whom is all grace and virtue, to receive the ungracious ſpirit of the devil?" &c.

[a] Sermon of the reſurrection, p. 193.

You

You differ from our firſt reformers, as appears from the quotations already produced from Pia et Catholica Inſtitutio — Reformatio Legum — Bp *Hooper* and *Latimer*. — They held that we might fall from grace, and a ſtate of righteouſneſs; "that thoſe who were written in the book of life might again be blotted out of it." You differ from the firſt reformers in *Germany*, and from their confeſſions, on the plan of which our own articles were firſt formed. [a] The confeſſion of *Augſburg*, the firſt ſummary of Proteſtant faith, condemns the Anabaptiſts, who denied that thoſe who were once juſtified could loſe the Holy Ghoſt. [b] The *Saxonick* confeſſion compiled by *Melanchton* 1551, with deſign to offer it to the council of *Trent*, in the name of all the Proteſtants, and unanimouſly approved by the *German* divines, ſays — "ex ſimilibus dictis manifeſtum eſt aliquos renatos contriſtare et excutere ſpiritum ſanctum, et rurſus abjici a Deo, ac fieri reos iræ Dei, et æternarum pænarum."

But, what is ſtill worſe, you contradict the holy ſcriptures, The prophet *Ezekiel* [c] puts the very caſe of a man in a ſtate of ſalvation, in God's favour, who afterwards turns from his righteouſneſs, and finally periſhes — when I ſhall ſay to the righteous that he ſhall ſurely live, if he truſt to his

a Art. 12. b *Sleidan*'s Hiſt. Ref. b. xxii. p. 510.

c Ezek. xxxiii. 13. xviii. 24. See Dr *Randolph*'s ſermon on Rom. viii. 16.

own

own righteouſneſs, and commit iniquity, all his righteouſneſs ſhall not be remembered, but for his iniquity that he hath committed, he ſhall die for it. In the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament we are exhorted [a] to work out our own ſalvation with fear and trembling; [b] to give diligence to make our calling and election ſure; [c] not to be high-minded, but fear, leſt we alſo be cut off; [d] he that thinketh he ſtandeth is admoniſhed to take heed leſt he fall. We read of ſome [e] who were once enligtened and had taſted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and had taſted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, who have afterwards fallen away, and that ſo totally and finally, that it was impoſſible to renew them again unto repentance. And of others we [f] read, who had eſcaped the pollution of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who have been again entangled therein, and overcome, whoſe latter end was worſe than the beginning. The great Apoſtle St. *Paul* ſpeaks with great diffidence and doubt of his own ſalvation — [g] Brethren, ſays he, I count not myſelf to have apprehended, but this one thing I do, forgetting thoſe things which are behind, and reaching forth unto thoſe things which are before, I preſs toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Chriſt Jeſus. And

a Phil. ii. 12. b 2 Pet. i, 10. c Rom. xi. 20 &c.
d 1 Cor. x. 12. e Heb. vi. 4 &c. f 2 Pet. ii. 20.
g Phil. iii. 13 &c.

again

again in another [a] place, I keep under my body and bring it into ſubjection, leſt that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myſelf ſhould be a caſt-away or [b] reprobate.

As to the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH, let us ſee wherein we differ. Firſt then, we all hold that we are juſtified freely by God's grace, that there is no merit in good works, that we are not to place our dependance, or reſt our plea on any works that we have done or can do, but only on the mercy of God, and the merits of our Redeemer. And on the other hand I ſhould hope that all, who believe the goſpel, would agree that good works are the neceſſary condition both of our juſtification and ſalvation. Whether we conſider the firſt juſtification of perſons received into the Chriſtian church, — the ſcripture teaches us that repentance, which conſiſts in ceaſing to do evil, and learning to do well, is neceſſary as previous to this juſtification. *John the Baptiſt* [c] prepared the way of the Lord by preaching the baptiſm of repentance for remiſſion of ſins.—— The firſt doctrine which our Saviour himſelf preached was — "[d] Repent ye, and believe the goſpel." And with the ſame doctrine his apoſtles opened their commiſſion — "[a] Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jeſus Chriſt,

a 1 Cor. ix. 27. b αδοκιμος. c Luke iii. 3. d Mar. i. 15. e Acts ii. 38.

for

for the remiſſion of ſins."—Or if we aſk what is the condition of our final juſtification at the day of judgment, both Chriſt and his apoſtles will inform us [a] that God will then render to every man according to his works. What do you mean then by cenſuring thoſe " [b] who look to a righteouſneſs of their own, made up of terms, qualifications, conditions, and ſuch like trumpery, for acceptance before God?" and aſſerting " [c] that works are no parts or conditions of our juſtification?" Parts or conditions — Are theſe ſynonymous terms? Pray, ſir, what do you underſtand by parts? We hold, as well as you, that juſtification is the act of God alone, conferred on us freely by his grace; — that our own good works have no proper efficiency in the act of our juſtification; have no worth or merit in them;—that [d] we have all ſinned, and come ſhort of the glory of God, and can be juſtified and ſaved only by faith, by a reliance on the mercies and merits of Chriſt. But that good works, though imperfect and worthleſs, are yet required by God, as neceſſary terms, qualifications and conditions, both of our juſtification and ſalvation, and that we cannot be juſtified and ſaved without them, you cannot deny, without denying all the ſcriptures from one end to the other; and contradicting the very homilies, to which you appeal. " If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments," ſaith our Saviour [e]. " Without holineſs no man

a Mat. xvi. 27. Rom. ii. 6. b P. 61. c Ibid
d Rom. iii. 23. e Matt. xix. 17.

ſhall

ſhall ſee the Lord," ſaith the Apoſtle [a]. After having quoted the homily, you tell us with an air of triumph—" [b] Here is no mention of works either as conditions or as parts of juſtification, which, as plain as words can make it, is attributed ONLY to faith." I ſhould wonder indeed if there were any mention of works, after the pains you have taken to ſuppreſs it, and when by your unfair method of quotation you have forced it to ſpeak only your own language. But had you proceeded only one ſentence further, you would have found the homily not ſo ſilent on that head as you would willingly repreſent it to be, for it immediately follows, " [c] And yet that faith doth not exclude repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God to be joined with true faith in every man that is juſtified, but it excludeth them from the office of juſtifying: ſo that although they be all preſent together in him that is juſtified, yet they juſtify not altogether. Nor doth that faith alſo exclude the juſtice of our good works neceſſarily to be done afterwards of duty towards God, (for we are moſt bounden to ſerve God in doing good deeds commanded by him in holy ſcripture, all the days of our life) but it excludeth them, ſo that we may not do them to the intent to be made good by the doing of them."

a Heb. xii. 14. See *Bulli* op. p. 509, 655 &c. b P. 59.
c Homily of ſalvation, part i. c. 1.

NOR

NOR is your other extract leſs partial, where you have omitted the words immediately following it for very obvious reaſons, becauſe they explain the ſenſe in which the Greek and Latin Fathers hold juſtification by faith only. "[a] Nevertheleſs (ſays the homily) this ſentence, "that we be juſtified by faith only", is not ſo meant by them (the fathers) that the ſaid juſtifying faith is ALONE in man, without true repentance, hope, charity, dread and the fear of God at any time and occaſion; for when they ſay we be juſtified freely, they mean not that we ſhould or might afterwards be idle, and that nothing ſhould be required on our part afterwards; neither mean they ſo to be juſtified without our good works, that we ſhould do no good works at all, as ſhall be more expreſſed at large hereafter: But this propoſition, that we be juſtified by faith only, freely and without good works, is ſpoken for to take away clearly all merit of our works, as being inſufficient to deſerve our juſtification at God's hands, and thereby moſt plainly to expreſs the weakneſs of man, and the goodneſs of God; the imperfectneſs of our own works, and the moſt abundant grace of our Saviour Chriſt." [b] Theſe, ſir, are the words of our church.

THE ſame doctrine is fully expreſſed in the Pia et Catholica Inſtitutio; I will tranſcribe a paſſage

a Homily of Salvation, part ii. c. 3. b P. 61.

or

or two from the original [a], which was not in my hands when the former part of this Letter was written. In the chapter on faith, page 1, 2, we thus read, " Faithe in the ſeconde acception is conſydered as it hathe hope and charitie annexed and joyned unto it; and faith ſo taken, ſignifyeth not only the belefe and perſuaſion before mencioned in the fyrſt acception, bat alſo a ſure confidence and hope, to atteyn whatſoever God hath promyſed for Chriſtis ſake, and an hearty love to God, and obedience to his commaundements.— And this faithe every Chriſten man profeſſeth and covenaunteth to kepe, when he receeyveth the ſacrament of baptyſme.

For declaration whereof it is to be noted, that all the promyſes of God, made to man after the fall of *Adam*, for Chriſtis ſake, be made under

a The Pia et Catholica Inſtitutio, is only a tranſlation of a book entitled, " A neceſſary doctrine and erudition for any Chriſten man &c." which was firſt printed in the year 1537, under this title, " The inſtitution of a Chriſten man." But King *Henry* the eighth intending to put it forth under his own authority, corrected it firſt with his own hand, (which copy with the MS. corrections in the King's own hand, was in the *Cotton* library) and then ſent it to Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, who took ſo great pains with it, that in a letter the Archbiſhop declares, " becauſe the book being to come out by the King's cenſure and judgment, he would have nothing in the ſame, which Momus himſelf could reprehend," I have made the above quotations from this edition of the King's printed in the year 1543.

this

this condition, that man ſhoulde beleve in God, and with the grace of God gyven for Chryſte, endevour hym ſelfe to accompliſhe Goddis commandements. The Churche therefore (intendynge that man ſhulde always have in mynde howe the promyſes of God be made upon condition, and without kepyng of the condition, no man is partaker of Goddis promiſes) hath taught and ordeyned, that men before they receyue baptiſme, ſhall promyſe and covenaunt to fulfylle the ſayde condition, and to forſake the deuyll and the worlde, and to ſerve onely God. And of this eſpeciall covenant, whereby man byndeth hymſelfe to God, he is called in latin, fidelis, faithfull; and he that never made the ſame covenaunt, or after he hath made it, renounceth and refuſeth the ſame, is called amonges Chriſten men, infidelis, unfaithful, or heathen.

Nowe of that which is before ſaide, it is manifeſt, that faithe (as it is taken in the ſecond acception) is the perfect faythe of a trewe Chriſten man, and conteyneth the obedience to the hole doctrine and religion of Chriſt. And thus is faythe taken of Saynt *Paule*, and in other places of ſcripture where it is ſayde, that we be juſtified by faith. In whych places men may not thynke, that we be juſtified by faithe, as it is a ſeverall vertue, ſeparated from hope and charitie, feare of God and repentaunce, but by it is ment faith, neither onely ne alone, but with the foreſaid vertues

tues coupled together, conteynyng (as it is aforeſayd) the obedience to the hole doctrine and religion of Chriſt."

THE judicious HOOKER ſpeaks the ſame language — "[a] Actual righteouſneſs, ſays he, which is the righteouſneſs of good works ſucceedeth all, followeth after all, both in order and time: which being attentively marked, ſheweth plainly how the faith of true believers cannot be divorced from hope and love; how faith is a part of ſanctification, and yet unto juſtification neceſſary; how faith is perfected by good works, and not works of ours without faith; and finally, how our fathers might hold that we are juſtified by faith alone, and yet hold truly that without works we are not juſtified. This likewiſe is the doctrine both of St. *Paul* and St. *James*. But for a fuller diſcuſſion of this matter, I beg leave to refer you to that excellent treatiſe of Biſhop *Bull*, entitled, Harmonia Apoſtolica. In the concluſion of that work, the learned and pious author warns us to beware of four errors in this article of juſtification. Firſt, that of the Papiſts, who aſcribe a merit to good works. Secondly, that of the Antinomians, who deny the neceſſity of good works. Thirdly, that of the Pelagians, who deny the neceſſity of grace. Fourthly, that of the Manicheans, who deny all free-will.

[a] Sect. 21.

I HAVE now gone through the ſeveral points of doctrine, which you have with greater confidence than truth pronounced to be the [a] very fundamental avowed doctrines of the Church of *England*; but which may now poſſibly appear in a different light even to you, or at leaſt to others, who might have been deceived by the falſe gloſſes by which diſguiſed them.

INDEED you are ſometimes obliged, in ſpite of your principles, to ſpeak the language of common ſenſe, when your cauſe requires it. When you inveigh with great indecency of expreſſion againſt "thoſe ſubtle ſerpents [b] who lurk within the boſom of the Church only to prey upon her vitals, and who for the ſake of filthy lucre carry on a ſolemn farce of ſubſcribing to articles, which many of the ſubſcribers no more believe than they do mother *Gooſe*'s tales" &c. You tell us "[c] that this impious jeſuitical equivocation, WITHOUT SPEEDY REPENTANCE, MUST DRAW DOWN THE VENGEANCE OF A LONG-SUFFERING GOD UPON OUR LAND." Theſe words, if they have any meaning, imply that even theſe ſubtle ſerpents, who prey upon the vitals of the Church; who would overthrow her very foundation; who are guilty of the moſt horrid mockery, and impious jeſuitical equivocation, may yet, if they will, repent; and by a ſpeedy repentance avert the juſt vengeance of God, whom you yourſelf repreſent as LONG-SUFFERING, *i. e.*

a P. 21. b P. 73. c P. 74.

forbearing

forbearing puniſhment in hopes of amendment, being not willing that any ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould repent, and be ſaved. But how is all this conſiſtent with your doctrine of abſolute decrees, denial of free-will, and univerſal grace offered to all, who will lay hold of it? &c.

ANOTHER point yet remains, which you have the aſſurance to tell the world was an article of accuſation againſt theſe ſix Students, viz. "[a] that they hold the influences of the Holy Spirit neceſſary to conſtitute every one a child of God." I have already confuted the baſe calumny, which was ſuggeſted to you, not by the ſpirit of truth, but by the father of lies: You cannot but know that we all hold the neceſſity of grace, and of the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, and teach, that without this aſſiſtance we can do no good thing. Moſt of us have not only offered theſe petitions for the inſpiration and comfort of the Holy Ghoſt in the [b] deſk, but from the Univerſity pulpit alſo; and I may challenge you to produce an inſtance, during the whole time of your reſidence in the Univerſity, of one, who dared to aſſert before that learned and religious body "[c] that it is a proof of frenzy and enthuſiaſm to believe God will vouchſafe an anſwer to them." But while we pray for the Spirit, and teach others to live under his holy influence, we diſtinguiſh between the extraordinary inſpiration

a P. 63. b P. 66. c Ibid.

which was conferred on the Apoſtles and firſt Chriſtians, and the ordinary grace of the ſame Spirit, which was vouchſafed to them, and is ſtill to all good Chriſtians in general, to enable them to work out their ſalvation. Which is it then, which you and your diſciples claim? If only the latter; what folly, what preſumption is it to compare the caſe of theſe young men with that of the Apoſtles and our bleſſed Saviour himſelf? I wonder not at all at Mr. *Whitefield*, but ſtand amazed to find "[a] a Maſter of Arts, of near twenty years ſtanding in the Univerſity" argue in this manner— "Jeſus the carpenter was bred to a trade." Pray, ſir, conſider whom you are ſpeaking of — the Son of God himſelf; [b] who received not the ſpirit by meaſure: [c] and in whom dwelleth all the fullneſs of the Godhead — *Luke* the phyſician and [d] painter, *Matthew* the publican, *Paul* the tent-maker"—Perſons immediately commiſſioned and inſpired by God — were moſt, if not all of them, bred to trades — therefore any man may now, without any ſuch extraordinary commiſſion or inſpiration, leap from the ſhop-board into the pulpit — "They were moſt of them deficient in the learned languages" — No, they were not; they had the gift of tongues to ſupply the want of education, they ſpoke all the languages of the known [e] world. Will theſe men

a P. 16. b Joh. iii. 35. c Col. ii. 9.

d Of this you have no better proof than ſome legendary writings and relicts in popiſh chapels, which however, when they ſerve your turn, may be good authority. e Acts ii. 5 &c.

pretend

pretend to have the ſame gifts? Their examination proved they had not. —— "They all uſed extempore prayer" — and therefore perſons ignorant and uninſpired may now take upon them to utter whatever comes uppermoſt in prayer to God Almighty, in the name of the congregation. — "But St. *Paul* was a notorious promoter of this kind of prayer" — not this kind; in St. *Paul*'s time ſpiritual gifts abounded in the Church; many Chriſtians then prayed and ſang with the ſpirit: [a] St. *Paul* directs them how they ſhould uſe theſe gifts to the edification of the Church; but this can give no pretence or encouragement to ignorant perſons, to pour forth extempore prayer in the congregation without either ſpirit or underſtanding.'

If theſe perſons, who have unhappily fallen under our cenſure, claimed only the ordinary grace and influences of the Holy Spirit, how came they to think themſelves authorized or qualified to preach or expound, as they call it, and to offer up prayers of their own in a mix'd congregation? The ordinary grace of the ſpirit gives men no new faculties: it only aſſiſts and proſpers us in the uſe of natural means, and in the exerciſe of our natural or acquired abilities. How then could theſe men without education, and without knowledge, totally deficient in every part of learning, take upon themſelves theſe offices, which a long and laborious courſe

[a] 1 Cor. xiv.

of education and ſtudy is generally thought neceſſary to qualify men for? Prayer in particular is a ſerious and important duty — "[a] Be not raſh with thy mouth, ſaith the preacher, and let not thine heart be haſty to utter any thing before God; for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth." When we come before the great Majeſty of heaven, even in private prayer, we ſhould do well to conſider before hand both the matter and form of what we have to offer; and take particular care that we offer nothing unlawful, indecent, or improper. Much leſs can prayers be made in a public congregation with any propriety or decency, without a pre-compoſed and well digeſted form. If perſons uninſpired and untaught, without knowledge, or premeditation, take upon them to be the mouth of the congregation, and in their name offer up their own crude conceptions to the great God of heaven, to call this the ſacrifice of fools, is a very mild appellation. The Church of *England* has ſufficiently teſtified her diſapprobation of extempore prayer by appointing a liturgy or form of public prayer, and requiring all her miniſters to uſe this form, and none other: to put up therefore ſuch extempore prayers in mixed congregations or conventicles, wherever they are held, is to act contrary to the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of *England*. And accordingly our divines have conſtantly maintained and defended the ne-

[a] Eccles. v. 2.

ceſſity

ceſſity and expediency of public forms of prayer, and ſhewn the abſurdity and indecency of the uſage of extempore prayers, againſt the puritans and diſſenters, whoſe practice and language (notwithſtanding the high veneration you profeſs for the doctrine and diſcipline of the eſtabliſhed Church) you and your friends adopt. The enthuſiaſts in the laſt century, who overthrew our conſtitution both in Church and State, talked of ſitting down, and waiting for the ſpirit, bragged of the influences of the ſpirit, and particularly of the gift of prayer, they ſpoke diſreſpectfully of our liturgy, and ſo it appeared on the examination that ſome of theſe gentlemen had done; they condemned all public forms of prayer, and called it ſtinting and limiting the ſpirit: and they alſo pleaded the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles; but I don't remember that any of them ever urged the example of "[a] the poor, old, blind beggar, *Bartimeus*."

I MIGHT purſue you through every article of your compariſon, and expoſe the abſurdity (I had almoſt ſaid blaſphemy) of it, were I not ſenſible that the ludicrous manner in which you have treated thoſe ſacred characters cannot even be thought of without abhorrence.

I SHALL take notice of one point more, which you have touched on, and that is the DOCTRINE OF ASSURANCE, whereby the children of God are

[a] P. 70.

ſaid

ſaid to be aſſured of their ſalvation. You are pleaſed to ſay "[a] that the denial of this aſſurance, except by revelation, is the very doctrine of the Council of *Trent*, and a main pillar of popery. If the Council of *Trent* denied this doctrine of aſſurance, ſo did it alſo the errors of *Arius* and *Socinus*; and you may as well call the denial of the one a main pillar of popery, as of the other. For though both theſe doctrines are, I fear, held by ſome Proteſtants, yet are they contrary to the doctrine of our Church. Our articles hold that men may fall from grace, and therefore no man can be infallibly ſure of his perſeverance. Our firſt reformers, as we have ſeen, [b] held, that neither ſcripture, nor the writings of the fathers teach any ſuch knowledge or cetainty.

You have favoured us with no proof of this your doctrine of perſeverance, I ſhall therefore content myſelf at preſent with referring you to Dr *Randolph*'s ſermon on Rom. viii. 16. lately publiſhed. Our *Margaret* Profeſſor hath there ſhewn, that to do the works of God is the only mark of being God's chtldren; that we can have no aſſurance of being ſuch, but from the teſtimony of our conſciences: that as to the perſeverance, it muſt depend on our own free choice, and therefore we can have no infallible aſſurance of it; and that the doctrine of ſuch aſſurance is a falſe and dangerous deluſion.

[a] P. 31. [b] P. 73.

I WILL

I WILL here add the concluding paſſage of the chapter on faith [a], which is worthy the ſerious conſideration of all thoſe, who talk ſo vainly and boaſt ſo confidently of their ſalvation. "Truthe it is, that in the ſacramentes inſtituted by Chriſt, we may conſtantly beleve the workes of God in them to our preſente comforte, and application of his grace and favour, with aſſuraunce alſo, that he will not fayle us, if we falle not from hym. Wherefore ſo contynuinge in the ſtate of grace with hym, we may beleve undoubtedly to be ſaved. But for as moche as oure owne frayltie and noughtyneſſe ought ever to be feared in us, it is therefore expediente for us to lyue in contynuall watche, and contynuall fyght with our ennemyes, the Dyuell, the fleſhe, and the worlde, and not to preſume to moche of oure perſeveraunce & contynuance in the ſtate of grace, whiche on our behalfe is uncertayne and unſtable. For although Goddis promyſes made in Chriſt be immutable, yet he maketh them not to us, but with condition, ſo that his promyſe ſtandinge, we may yet fayle of the promyſe, bycauſe we kepe not our promyſe. And therefore yf we aſſuredly reckon upon the ſtate of our felicitie, as grounded upon Goddis promyſe, and do not therewith remembre, that no man ſhal be crowned, onleſſe he lawfully fyght, we ſhall triumphe before the vyctorye, and ſo loke in vayne

[a] See "a neceſſary doctrine and erudition for any Chriſten man." Page 3.

for

for that, whiche is not otherwiſe promiſed, but under a condition. And this every chriſten man muſt aſſuredlye beleve." We muſt therefore [a] prove our own ſelves, and examine into our own lives and converſations, and if, [b] on an impartial enquiry, our hearts condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God. You, ſir, I ſuppoſe, are poſſeſſed, or imagine yourſelf poſſeſſed, of this aſſurance, and are confident that you are one of the elect people of God, one of his children, his ſheep —— But this is not the bleating of ſheep, which we hear. Let me aſk you ſeriouſly, whether, to throw out perſonal abuſe, [c] to rip up private characters, to revive old ſtories, many of them falſe, all of them miſrepreſented, of ſuppoſed abuſes and want of diſcipline, thirty or forty years ago; to uſe bitter and opprobrious language, to call thoſe who differ from you [d] a peſtilent, ſeditious ſect, holding pride-ſoothing doctrines, [e] doctrines of devils; [f] dangerous heretics, and ſciſmatics, incendiaries in the Church; to caſt general reflections on the moſt reſpectable members of the Univerſity, where there are [g] many great dignified divines who are ſeen napping at the Univerſity Church moſt Sundays throughout the year, and cannot find time to leave the common room, and attend the evening prayers at chapel; and on the Clergy [h] many of whom ſpend their time in idleneſs and ſenſual

a 2 Cor. xiii. 5. b 1 Joh. iii. 21. c P. 6. 19. 21. 79. d P. 33. e P. 52. f P. 69. g P. 71. h P. 67.

indul-

indulgence, and [a] carry on a ſolemn farce of ſubſcribing to articles, which they no more believe than they do mother *Gooſe*'s tales. —— Let me aſk you, whether ſuch language as this is conſiſtent with that charity, and meekneſs which is the diſtinguiſhing character of Chriſt's diſciples. [b] You ſeem indeed ſenſible that you have declared your ſentiments too plainly: and therefore would vindicate yourſelf by the example of our bleſſed Saviour, and *Martin Luther*. As to *Luther*, let me deſire you to imitate his many good qualities, and not his failings. He has been cenſured as guilty of too great heat and acrimony in ſome of his expreſſions; but when you honoured him with the title of the COURAGIOUS CHAMPION OF THE REFORMATION, you had ſurely forgotten that he comes under the ſame condemnation with us, "of holding the doctrines of free-will, and univerſal redemption, the avowed doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, compared with which tranſubſtantiation is an harmleſs error" —— How will you reconcile theſe inconſiſtences? But I am very ſorry you ſhould ſhelter yourſelf under the authority of our Bleſſed Saviour. When you can ſhew that we are all of us "the bittereſt enemies of true godlineſs," or that you have the ſame authority, as our Saviour, and the ſame knowledge of the heart, then we will give you leave, if you find reaſon, to call us ſcribes, and Phariſees, hypocrites. As you can-

a P. 74. b Ibid.

not

not do this, we muſt beſeech you rather to learn from our bleſſed ſaviour [a] meekneſs, and lowlineſs of heart; and [b] to put away from you all bitterneſs, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-ſpeaking with all malice.

When you complained ſo bitterly of perſecution, and compared the proceedings againſt theſe young men to thoſe of the ſtar-chamber, and high commiſſion-court, you ſhould have conſidered how you could acquit yourſelf, and your friends, of the ſame charge. Who perſecuted *Barrett*, and others, and would fain have impoſed the *Lambeth* articles upon them? the calviniſts at *Cambridge*, whoſe cauſe you eſpouſe and defend. Who framed the horrible decrees of the ſynod of *Dort*, and deprived the remonſtrants of all ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONS, AND ALL OFFICES IN ANY UNIVERSITY: drove the learned *Grotius* into baniſhment, and made him fly for his life? Your friends the Calviniſts, whoſe proceedings you [c] mention with approbation. Who perſecuted, nay, horribly executed the Quakers? The good Calviniſts of *New England* [d]. And may we not add, that the ſame ſpirit of perſecution ſtill continues among them; ſince they will not ſuffer a Biſhop of the Church of *England* to ſet foot there, for the diſcharge of an office purely ſpiritual, and without any pretenſions to temporal juriſdiction? Your

a *Matt.* xi. 29. b Eph. iv. 31. c P. 57.
d See the firſt Letter to the Author of the Confeſſional P. 43.

friend

friend Mr. *Whitefield* in his letter to the Vice-Chancellor ſeems willing to encourage this ſpirit of his Calvinian friends, and invidiouſly calls the Biſhops deſtined for *America*, Lords Biſhops. Nay [a]you yourſelf would impoſe your own ſenſe of the articles on us, and would ſentence all thoſe who deny your doctrines to be rejected as heretics, excommunicated, and expelled the Univerſity, and you urge the execution of that ſentence *ipſo facto* in the true ſpirit of your admired author Mr. *Prynne*, with an — "Alaſs! — Quid leges ſine moribus vanæ proficiunt?" though indeed you tremble for the conſequences; and are afraid our colleges would be in danger of an utter deſertion, and an almoſt general expulſion enſue. What right then have you to complain, were we even to do by you, as you would do by us? We have deprived theſe men of no preferment, or emolument. Nor ſhould we have done thus much, or even enquired what their tenets were with regard to theſe points, if they had not been charged with other matters, for which they ought to have been removed from a ſociety devoted to true religion, and learning; viz. frequenting, and holding conventicles, inſufficiency, ignorance, miſbehaviour to their tutor *&c.*

You aſſert [c] indeed that though Mr. *Grove* was expelled for preaching in a barn, yet "he really never did it, and abſolutely denied it." Do you

[a] P. 66. [b] P. 17, 18.

mean,

mean, Sir, that he never preached at all? or that he did not preach in a barn? or a field? If the former; it was proved by undoubted evidence, and confeſſed by himſelf both at the examination and afterwards — though I am ſince informed that, in a petition preſented to the late Archbiſhop, he has denied it. If the latter; it is a mere quibble, it being very immaterial whether the preachment was made in a barn, or a malt-houſe, in a field, or on a common; not the place, but the action was condemned. [a]

THOUGH I am not obliged to take any notice of your poſtſcript, it being addreſſed to a perſon totally unknown to me, yet as it contains, what you call, "three very material points, on which you ground the cauſe you have defended, and to which you publicly call for an anſwer" —— (tho' you might have done this with greater propriety, had you put your name to your performance) I beg you will accept the following.

a In p. 26. of your ſecond edition you go farther, and tell the world that when ſentence was paſs'd on Mr. *Grove*, "he denied the fact; however he was put down guilty of it by Dr. N—L." Now, Sir, it will appear from my minutes that I had not mentioned the word barn — but that circumſtance of the place was recollected by the other aſſeſſors, and accordingly was inſerted in the ſentence by the Vice-Chancellor. To what, Sir, I am to attribute your remarkable attention to me? Time perhaps may explain it.

First, From the foregoing account of the proceedings, it will evidently appear that you have greatly misrepresented very many "facts relative to the trial of the young men;" whether thro' want of information or candor, must be left to your own conscience, and that Being to whom you so solemnly appeal.

After you had said all the ill-natured things you could invent, you give the reader to understand that you could have said a great deal more, and compliment your own moderation by telling him "that you have rather extenuated than aggravated." This may be a beautiful figure in rhetoric; either hyperbole, or apoſiopesis, or something superior to both — however, I hope, the candid reader will consider it only as a flower of speech, and weigh your moderation and forbearance "in the balance of calm reflection, and unbiassed judgment."

What you mean by "the haughty overbearing treatment the youths met with at their trial," is beyond my comprehension. Sure I am, that the Vice-Chancellor and his assessors treated them with the greatest candor and humanity: and if any of the vast croud, which were present, behaved improperly, it was matter of great concern and offence to them; but can with no more justice be laid to their charge, then any noise, which may happen in the assize-hall, can be to the Judge who

sits

ſits on the bench. But, in fact, the young men met with no ill-treatment from any one during the whole examination, which was carried on with as much decency as could be expected, in a place ſo crouded. The only circumſtance, which gave offence, was the great throng which preſſed into the chapel to hear the ſentence, not with that reverence which became the place; but their behaviour in it was proper and decent, and a perfect ſilence was obſerved during the whole time that the Vice-Chancellor pronounced the ſeveral ſentences. [a]

I KNOW not what "veil you pretend to draw over the moral characters of certain perſons who were very active againſt them," but am convinced that you would have acted with more chriſtian charity, had you honeſtly expoſed what you pretend to conceal — you now ſtab in the dark, and your obſcure inſinuations reach much farther than an open attack could poſſibly have done. If you have any charge againſt the moral character of the Vice-Chancellor, or either of his aſſeſſors, you ought, in juſtice to the reſt, to have openly avowed it. I flatter myſelf they have no reaſon either to ſue to your mercy, or to "dread your power of expoſing them."

a N. B. The Vice-Chancellor intended to pronounce ſentence in the Hall, where the examination had been taken; but finding it greatly crouded, it was propoſed to adjourn to the chapel to avoid that inconveniency.

WHAT has been above advanced concerning the doctrines of the Church of *England*, will, I hope, be a ſufficient reply to the former part of your ſecond point. "I wonder how you can aſk what I think of *Barret*'s caſe, and whether all perſecution is confined to primitive times." For an anſwer to this very extraordinary queſtion I refer you to page 140. ——— the 3d point deſerves none — But if you ſtill perſiſt to demand why Mr. *Newton*, *Davies*, and *Fletcher* (for I don't remember that the other names were mentioned) were called methodiſts; I refer you to Mr. *Higſon* for an anſwer.

BE pleaſed likewiſe to accept the following ſolution of your queries. [a]

1ſt, THE teſtimony of Dr. *Dixon* was not ſet at nought, but had all the weight, which could with juſtice be given it. When particular facts were urged and proved, which by the ſtatutes of the Univerſity, and of the Hall, ſubjected the offenders to expulſion, the Viſitor was obliged to put thoſe ſtatutes in force, unleſs he would betray the duty and authority of his office. No teſtimony to their characters could alter the nature, or deſtroy the force of the proofs brought againſt them — For an anſwer to the latter part of this query, and to your 2d — I refer you to Mr. *Welling*'s caſe page 56 *&c.*

[a] P. 84.

By way of ſolution to the third, I beg leave to aſſure you that the young men were not obliged to accuſe themſelves. When the articles of accuſation were produced againſt each of them ſeparately, they were aſked whether they acknowledged what was urged againſt them to be true. If they did — no farther proof was required. If they did not — Mr. *Higſon* then proceeded to ſupport his charge, article by article; and he did it with the greateſt regularity, and clearneſs imaginable. If you do not chuſe to acquieſce in this account, I muſt refer you to him; who has all the evidence by him, and is ready to produce it, whenever he ſhall be properly called upon. I will only obſerve that, had they been queſtioned in the manner you repreſent, it is no more than what is uſually done, when young men are accuſed of any irregularity before the governors of their reſpective ſocieties. Something more than a bare denial is required; they are expected to anſwer to the charge, and to vindicate themſelves by refuting, or diſproving, the matter of their accuſation — was not this the caſe, it is impoſſible that diſcipline could be maintained.

One word more in anſwer to your N. B. and I have done. When it was ſaid that the young men had their tutor's advice in every ſtep they took, as well in their meetings at firſt, as in their abſenting themſelves from them afterwards, Mr. *Higſon* explain'd this matter, by declaring that Mr. *Jones* had impoſed

impoſed upon him in his repreſentation of theſe meetings — that he neither mentioned expounding or extempore prayers; but only aſked whether there was any crime in a few friends meeting to read the holy ſcriptures, and other godly books. I am not ſurprized that Mr. *Jones* ſhould deceive his tutor, when [a] you have endeavoured to impoſe the ſame account upon the world. [b]

WHATEVER Mr. *Grove*, Mr. *Middleton*, or you may be inclined to think, I am fully perſuaded that the Vice-Chancellor was not puſhed on by the violence of others, but urged by an affectionate regard for the honour and welfare of the Univerſity "to carry matters to the lengths they were carried;" — with reluctance indeed to the natural ſweetneſs and humanity of his own diſpoſition, but with that ſteadineſs and impartiality, which became a ſcholar and a magiſtrate. Nor are you more happy in the proof by which you would ſupport your aſſertion: his humanity does not ſtand in need of your compliment at the expence of truth. I am not conſcious to myſelf of having aſked any prying or imperti-

a P. 14, 15.

b In your ſecond edition p. 24. you repreſent me as inſinuating "with a ſneering laugh" that Mr. *Jones*'s defence of himſelf ſhould be remembered to his prejudice. In confutation of this unjuſt reflection I refer you to my minutes of Mr. *Jones*'s examination page 24. from whence it will appear, that I have faithfully recorded the ſubſtance of his defence. By the ſame minutes every other charge brought againſt me ſtands confuted.

nent

nent queſtions, but ſuch only as directly tended to diſcover, what I was appointed to enquire into, the truth; nor did the Vice-Chancellor ever ſtop me in ſuch enquiry; but I have the ſatisfaction to ſay that my conduct, as well as that of the other aſſeſſors, met with his entire approbation. Both he, and they were indeed ſenſible that they were engaged in a very invidious office; and that their proceedings, however upright and impartial, would be cenſured, and miſrepreſented, by thoſe, who ſhould be affected by them. They could not expect to eſcape the ſharpneſs of your reſentment, who have not ſpared even the place of your education. Reverence and affection will naturally induce every true ſon of our *Alma Mater*, to be tender of her reputation, to honour her virtues, and put the moſt favourable conſtruction on her failings. But you have taken an ill-natured pleaſure in expoſing, with no leſs falſhood than malice, what, even had it been true, humanity would have endeavoured to conceal. Her lenity, which probably yourſelf have experienced, has not leſs provoked your indignation on other occaſions, than, what you are pleaſed to call, her ſeverity and cruelty on this. You have revived the long-forgotten diſgrace of ſome of her members, and raiſed ſcandalous reports of others, merely to blacken her character, and bring upon her the reproach of the public.

I SINCERELY forgive any injury you may have intended to do me, but I know not how you will forgive

forgive yourſelf for that done to the Univerſity. Whatever zeal you may pretend for religion, while you bridle not your tongue, I have the authority of an apoſtle to pronounce, that your religion is vain —Whatever aſſurances you may flatter yourſelf with of God's grace, if you have not charity, you deceive yourſelf — however you may fancy that you feel the impulſes of the Holy Spirit, yet you will do well to remember that hatred, wrath, ſtrife, evil-ſpeaking, ſlander *&c.* are not the fruits of THAT Spirit.

THAT God would grant both you and me by his Holy Spirit to have a right judgment in all things is the hearty prayer of,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

St. *Mary-Hall*,
Sept. 10. 1768.

humble Servant,

T. NOWELL.

P. S. I was in hopes you would have favoured the world with your name ſubſcribed to the ſecond edition of your performance, and that I ſhould have had the pleaſure of addreſſing myſelf to you in a more particular manner, in my poſtſcript; putting you in mind of ſome circumſtances which I cannot now mention with propriety, leſt I ſhould be miſtaken in the application of them: but I find you ſtill chuſe to lie concealed, delighting to ſhoot your arrows in the dark, even bitter words, by which, though your name be concealed, you fully diſcover what manner of ſpirit you are of—a practice, which ſeveral of your friends have imitated, who convey their ſtupid, illiberal invectives in anonymous Letters, of which they themſelves ſeem to be aſhamed. I was likewiſe led by your advertiſement to expect that you would have acknowledged ſome errors, which you muſt be conſcious you had been guilty of in your firſt edition, but I perceive you ſtill perſiſt in them, having added nothing but low abuſe to notorious falſhood — I envy you not this talent, but leave you in quiet poſſeſſion of it; and, being determined to follow you no farther, I here bid you, and your friends, farewel.

ERRATA.

P. 48. l. 13. for *twenty* r. twenty eight.
P. 68. l. 3. from the bottom for *with him* r. him with.
P. 70. l. 7. from ditto for *pamphlet* r. book.
P. 87. l. 7. add *by* at the beginning of the line.
P. 88. l. 21. for 1557. r. 1560.
P. 102. l. 4. after *work* add *out*.
P. 104. l. 19. after *and* add *ſo*.
P. 142. l. 1. from the bottom for *I am* r. am I.

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